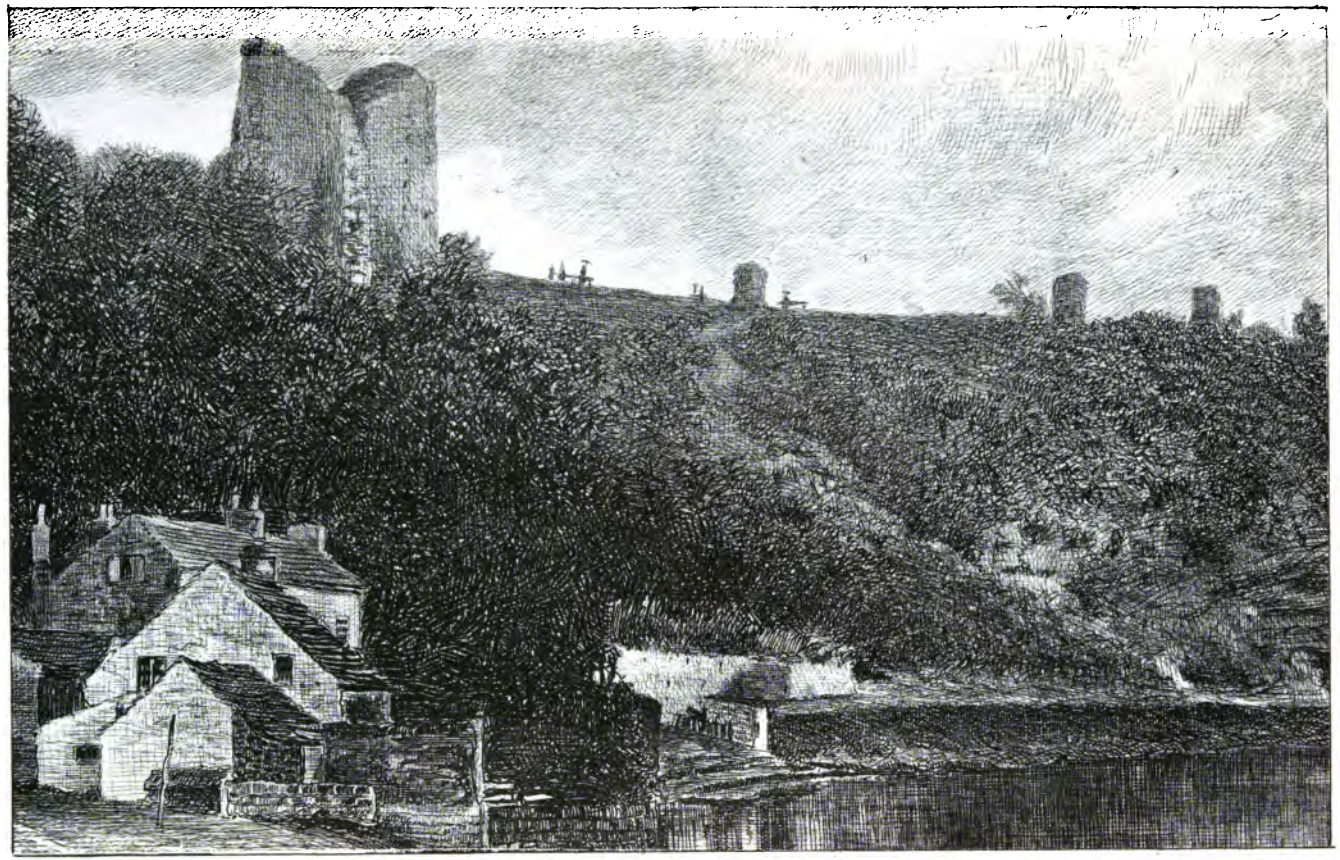

KNARESBRO' CASTLE.

OLD YORKSHIRE.

EGGLESTON ABBEY.

OLD YORKSHIRE

(SECOND SERIES).

Edited by

W. WHEATER.

*

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1885.

[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

TO

SIR GEORGE FREDERICK SAMUEL ROBINSON, K.G.,

G.C.S.I., C.I.E.,

MARQUIS OF RIPON,

WHO BY GENEROUS TALENTS, BY LABOUR, AND BY PATRIOTISM,

HAS ADDED DISTINCTION

TO THE PRESTIGE OF AN HONOURABLE HOUSE,

AND

STRENGTH TO THE COMMONWEAL OF HIS COUNTRY;

I RESPECTFULLY DEDICATE

THIS INSTALMENT OF THE HISTORY

OF HIS NATIVE COUNTY,

AS TO ONE WHOSE INFLUENCE AND EXAMPLE

ARE WORTHY

OF THOSE GREAT COMPATRIOTS

WHO HAVE GIVEN TO YORKSHIRE

ITS SPLENDID ROLL OF FAME.

TRINITY CHAPEL, HARROGATE.

PREFACE.

IN continuing the yearly issue of "Old Yorkshire" in a Second Series, the Editor has always borne in mind the promise he made in announcing the Series—that it should be his especial care to deal with the history of Old Yorkshire, and to include only articles which shall be reliable authorities on the subject of which they treat. After thanking the contributors who have generously aided him in this task, and those whose proffered contributions a bounded space compelled him reluctantly to decline, he begs to place his effort in the hands of his subscribers, trusting they will allow that he has satisfactorily redeemed his promise.

If this Volume, which the Editor issues as very much in the nature of an experimental volume, meet with public approbation and support, it will become an evidence that within a limitable period and at a very moderate cost it is possible to place on the shelves of the most modest library a history of the County which will satisfy all reasonable demands. It has been held that the preparation of a history of Yorkshire would be an undertaking so vast and expensive as almost to preclude the publication of it. The Editor is well aware that, granted the method of treatment, some truth lies in that doleful forecast; but he is at the same time convinced that the publication of a fairly comprehensive history can be achieved on the lines of the present volume, the only necessaries to success being judicious co-operation and adequate support. He trusts that he may be enabled to carry his experiment to the fulness of success.

There is an apology due to the subscribers for the delay which has clogged the passage of the book through the press. That delay arose, in a limited sense, by the change from the old lines, and the transfer of the venture to other hands. But it was further increased and maintained beyond all proportion, and until out of control, by the political crisis which consumed the closing months of the present year. As a contribution to the history of his time, the Editor records his belief that such a crisis will not readily recur; being, however, forewarned, he will now take care that, in the event of its recurrence, it shall not produce a similar effect upon the appearance of any subsequent volume of this Series.

In conclusion, the Editor has to thank the contributors of illustrations for their generous aid in supplying a most costly feature to the work. He owes to the estimable liberality of Mr. Joseph Scott, Solicitor, Leeds, the gift of the plate of Knaresborough Castle, and to Mr. John Ramsden, Photographer, the original from which the engraving comes; to the Editor of *The Builder*, and to his contributor, Mr. G. T. Clarke, F.S.A., he owes the plans of the Early Earthworks; as to the former of those two gentlemen, he also owes the view of Southwell Minster; to Mr. John Stansfeld, of Leeds, a generous preserver of the relics of monastic and baronial heraldry, he owes the seals; to Mr. Llewellyn Jewett, F.S.A., of whose kindness "Old Yorkshire" affords so very many instances, he owes the illustrations of the very curious Crowle Cross; to Major R. W. Moore he owes the Leeds Cross; and to the Rector of Kirk-Deighton, the Rev. J. W. Geldard, he owes the view of that Church. It is his hope that the possessors of curious illustrations will afford him similar assistance in the future.

28, ALBION STREET, LEEDS,
Christmas, 1885.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
BARROWS ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS	1
PRE-HISTORIC FORTIFICATIONS	3
EARTHWORKS OF THE ENGLISH PERIOD.—MIDDLEHAM. Illustration. ...	5
,, ,, LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN	6
,, ,, BARWICK-IN-ELMETE ...	9
,, ,, THE RIBBLESDALE MOUNDS	10
,, ,, PICKERING	10
,, ,, ROTHERHAM	11
,, ,, MEXBOROUGH	11
THE SAXON CHURCH AT LAUGHTON	8
TICKHILL, CAMP AND CASTLE. *G. T. Clarke, F.S.A.*	13
,, THE BUSLIS OF TICKHILL, AND THE SIEGE OF THE CASTLE	19
SOUTHWELL MINSTER	24
THE CASTLE OF POMFRET. *G. T. Clarke, F.S.A.*	24
KIRBY-HILL CHURCH, Boroughbridge	34
KIRBY MOORSIDE CASTLE	34
DOWKERBOTTOM CAVE. *J. Latchmore.*	35
KIRKDALE CAVE	38
THE GIPSY SPRINGS, Yorkshire	39
KILDALE CHURCH, DISCOVERIES IN	40
GRASSINGTON, ROMAN ENCAMPMENT AT. *B. J. Harker.*	41
,, LEAD MINES. *J. Lucas.*	49
SHEEP-SCORING NUMERALS	44
PLACE-NAMES IN AL. *W. Wheater.*	45
THE ILKLEY CROSSES. *J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.S.*	53
THE ILKLEY AND CROWLE CROSSES. *W. Wheater.*	56
,, Illustration. *L. Jewitt, F.S.A.* ...	59
THE CROWLE CROSS. *A. S. Ellis.*	61
THE LEEDS CROSS, Illustration. *R. W. Moore.*	63
ILKLEY, ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES AT	65
BRUNANBURGH, THE BATTLE OF. *C. S. Todd, F.S.A.*	66
,, ,, *A. S. Ellis.*	71
DIOCESAN HISTORY of YORK	77
Illustrations	81, 82, 83

PAGE.

BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF ... 86
COWTHORPE AND ITS CHURCH. *W. Wheater.* 91
,, Illustration. *Rev. J. W. Geldart.* .. 93
SCARBOROUGH, ST. MARY'S CHURCH. Illustration. *W. Wheater.* ... 101
MIRFIELD CHURCH 105
KILDWICK AND FARNHILL. *W. Claridge.* 111
KELDHOLME PRIORY. *W. Wheater.* 115
,, ILLUSTRATION OF PORCH 117
ROSEDALE PRIORY. *W. Wheater.* 123
,, COMMON SEAL 124
OUR LADY OF MALTON, PRIORY OF. *W. Wheater.* 129
,, ARMS OF. *J. Stansfeld.* 134
GUISBOROUGH PRIORY. *W. Wheater.* 134
,, COMMON SEAL. *J. Stansfeld.* 135
,, CAPITULAR SEAL, TITLE PAGE. *J. Stansfeld.*
,, ARMS OF. *J. Stansfeld.* 147
ARTHINGTON PRIORY. *W. Wheater.* 148
,, VAVASOUR ARMS 156
,, COMMON SEAL. *J. Stansfeld.* 161
CAMPANOLOGY. *H. T. Ellacombe, M.A.* 162
VERT AND VENISON. *W. Wheater.* 163
,, A LAUND IN THE FOREST OF GALTRES. Illustration. 165
,, THE CHACE IN OLDEN TIMES. Illustration. 169
,, THE PARKS OF WAKEFIELD. *W. Wheater.* ... 174
,, THE PARK OF WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE, AND WHARNCLIFFE CHACE. *W. Wheater.* ... 178
,, KING JOHN AT ROUNDHAY PARK. *W. Wheater.* 185
SOCIETY AND CRIME. *W. Wheater.* 189
PHASES OF OLD PARISH LIFE. *J. Batty, F.R.H.S.* 194
KNARESBOROUGH CASTLE AND FOREST. Illustration. *W. Wheater.* ... 197
,, THE KEEP OF THE CASTLE. Illustration... ... 204
,, KNARESBOROUGH. Illustration. 205
,, THE INTERIOR OF THE KEEP. Illustration ... 221
,, THE WHARFE AT ILKLEY BRIDGE. Illustration ... 224
A FEUDAL STRONGHOLD AND ITS VICTIMS 226
MIDDLEHAM CASTLE. *W. Wheater.* 235
THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS, A RELIC OF. *F. Peel.* 256
THE ANCIENT CLOTH TRADE. *W. Wheater.*... 259
COAL MINING IN HALIFAX. *J. Lister, M.A.* 269
BRADFORD IN THE TIME OF JOHN WESLEY. *W. Scruton.* 283
THE STATELY HOMES OF ENGLAND: METHLEY 287
PLACE NAMES CONNECTED WITH WATER. *C. D. Hardcastle* 290
INDEX 295
LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS 320

THE BARROWS ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS.

THE Reverend Canon Greenwell remarks that barrows or mounds are to be found in nearly all parts of the earth; but, perhaps, in greater abundance in the southern parts of Asiatic Russia, and on the northern shores of the Black Sea, than anywhere else. In Africa, they are most numerous on the shores of the Mediterranean. There are not many of such remains to be found south of the Desert of Sahara. It might be added that they are much more Asiatic and European than African, and are sprinkled about all the way west from India to Ireland. The mounds which existed on the Yorkshire Wolds were of a time which might be called pre-historic. The poems attributed to Homer contain accounts of interments similar to those in the barrows. The Yorkshire Wolds, where the barrows are found in such plenty, appear to have been at one time a sort of island, bounded by the sea and swampy land. It was, therefore, a desirable piece of territory, and was well populated.

The barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds were of two kinds, the long and the round ones. The former were the few in number and furnished the least information. They were nearly all placed east and west, the east end being wider than the west end. It was believed that the long barrows were the burial-places of the earliest people connected with barrows. The round barrows were of a later period, as in them were found traces of metal. There were also secondary interments in the long barrows, of the same kind as those in the round mounds. Many bodies were found in some barrows burnt, but how the burning was effected was not known, there being no traces of charcoal, although the chalk and oolite had been used so as to have bone fixed in the stone. The mounds were encircled with stones in a Druidical manner. Pottery, urns, ornaments, weapons, and other implements, were found in them. The researches at the barrows showed that the people lived 1,000 years before Christ, when bronze was only used in small quantities, and when the use of iron was unknown. The traces of clothing, bones of domesticated animals, and other articles, showed that the people were considerably advanced in civilisation.

In general form the round barrows are either conical or bowl-shaped. It is probable that many had originally an encircling mound or a ditch, or both, at the base; but if such were the case, all traces of these enclosures have been destroyed. The barrows were constructed of the materials nearest at hand, more commonly of earth than of chalk. They are usually associated in groups, but a single barrow is not uncommon. As a rule they have been erected on high ground. The bodies buried under the mounds occur at various levels, the centre burial being usually in a grave excavated in the chalk. Generally, there is nothing to protect the body from the pressure of the overlying soil, interments in cists being almost entirely unknown in the Wolds. Rarely, the body has been protected by a coffin formed of a hollowed tree-trunk. The remains of the body, when burned, are sometimes enclosed in an urn. Secondary interments are common, and the bodies previously buried have been thereby disturbed, and the bones scattered. In some instances the burials were by inhumation, in others after cremation, the former practice being by far the more common on the Wolds. In cases of burial by inhumation, the unburnt body is always found lying on the side in a contracted position, with the knees drawn up towards the head. This was evidently not due to the requirements of space, but must have originated in some settled principle, the meaning of which is not understood, but which appears to have been common to all mankind at a certain stage of development. Perhaps it was in imitation of the natural posture assumed in sleep when the individual sought warmth. The direction of the body seems to follow no rule.

The barrows contain numerous weapons and implements of stone (including flint), of bronze, and rarely of bone or horn. The catalogue of stone implements includes almost all those which occur elsewhere, but the bronze articles are very limited. In 248 burials by inhumation and after cremation thirty-nine had articles of flint or other stone, ten of bronze, and three of horn. From the evidence afforded by the barrows it appears that the early inhabitants of the Yorkshire wolds must have lived in an organised state of society; that they possessed domesticated animals, and cultivated grain; that they manufactured woollen and perhaps linen fabrics; and that they had attained considerable skill in metallurgy, and were acquainted with the manufacture of pottery, though ignorant of the potter's wheel. It is believed that it was their custom to bury with the dead the wives and children of the deceased, and perhaps their slaves. The round barrows yield both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic skulls. The shortheaded race were taller, more strongly built, and harsher in features than were the long-headed people. With regard to the age of the round barrows, the Canon feels safe in not attributing to them too high an antiquity by referring them to a period which centres more or less in B.C. 1000.

A tumulus examined near Weaverthorpe in 1865 has given up relics almost if not quite unique. In excavating, quantities of red deer and other animal bones, all split longitudinally, for the marrow, were found.

In the centre, in a circular grave of 10 ft. diameter, and nearly 6 ft. deep into the solid chalk, reminding us of the so-called chalk-pits elsewhere found and not yet clearly accounted for, was the skeleton of a Briton,—a warrior laid with his weapons beside him. The body was on the left side, with the head towards the north-east, and in a contracted position as usual. The right hand of the skeleton grasped a fine bronze dagger of the round-ended and early type. The ovate-oblong blade was delicately thin, and the broad end had the three rivets (bronze) which fasten it to the handle, the mark of which still remained. A flint knife lay upon the dagger, and below it was a double-pointed awl or bodkin, of bronze,—a curious and novel implement. Over the breast were five very large jet buttons, and one of clay; and at the back of the skeleton, in the position it must have held when slung over the shoulder during life, was the fine bronze battle-axe (a model of the old stone axe) having the mark of the wooden handle on the patina. Only one tumulus of similar interest to this has been found: that is recorded in Bateman's "Ten Years' Diggings."

An interesting discovery of Celtic funeral urns has been made in the railway cutting near the picturesque hamlet of King's Newton, Derbyshire, in a situation not hitherto suspected as being likely to afford matter for archæological investigation. The height of the situation, the absence of any covering upon the urns save earth, and the paucity of other relics such as flints or bronze, prove that one of the early tribes had formed here a regular burial-place for the ashes of their dead. Cremation had been practised elsewhere, and the urns then brought to the grave-hill from the distant place where the funeral pyre had been erected. Small vases containing the ashes of infants were found; but in no case did the layer urns contain the smaller vessel called by antiquaries the "incense cup," or any bones except those of human beings. The ornamentation exhibits evidence of considerable taste and ingenuity, one fragment presenting the unusual feature of a double ring of crosses carefully impressed by means of a stamp.

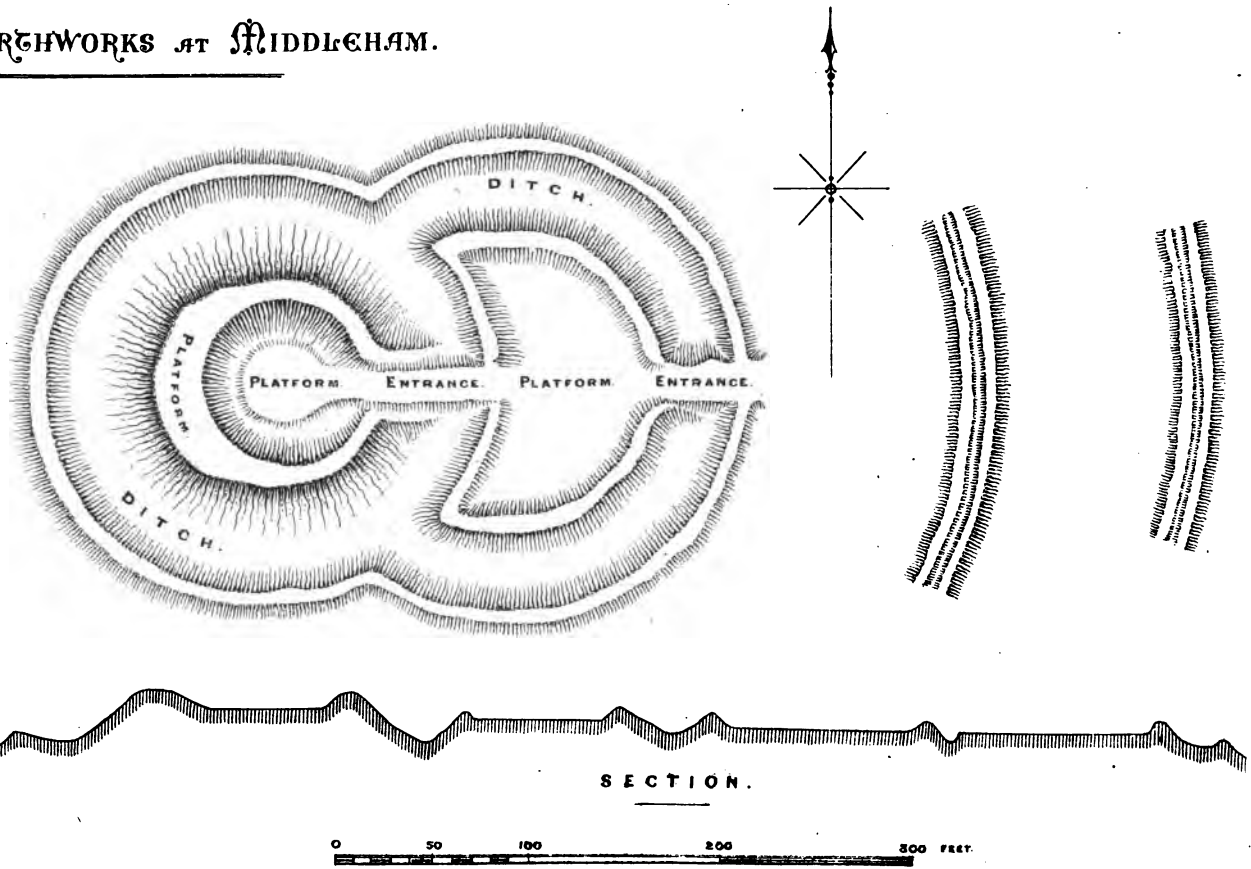
PRE-HISTORIC FORTIFICATIONS.

In a lecture delivered a short time back at St. George's Hall, Langham-place, on "Pre-historic Fortifications and the Military Engineering of our Ancestors during the Stone Age," Mr. Lawson Tait said, everywhere we find traces of that rude life long anterior to the existence of civilisation. There may be distinctly traced the stages of the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages, as points of development in man's history; while other countries, not having made such advances, and having flourished as long, are only still in the stone age—all their implements being of stone. The state of a nation's warfare was a sign of its advancement, and this was exemplified in the construction of forts.

The earliest instance of armoury that we know of, was that of a chip-flint pebble, which was used either by being attached to a stick, or

else clutched in the hand. The natural positions of defences used by our ancestors were those of an elevated character, and so in the construction of forts, the earliest and rudest of which were hill-forts. They were first constructed simply as places of refuge, and were made upon little table-lands. Afterwards we find that in the erection of these forts the masonry improves, and small oval chambers are introduced; then they become regular places of residence. In the county of Sutherland many of these forts were built entirely of stone, though earth-forts preceded them, and so were constructed on positions which were naturally strong. A remarkable feature in the construction of forts is that they were invariably built in sight of one another, and, by a system of telegraphy, the men in occupation could be on the alert in case of foreign invasion. One of these forts, situated in the Orkney Islands, stood a siege for nearly six months. Its shape resembled that of a dice-box, and it was built entirely of dry stone, no cement whatever being used. In some instances, the stones of which these forts were built must have been carried some miles' distance, and the industry displayed by the builders must have been enormous. Many of these forts are preserved to us now in consequence of the difficulty there is in destroying them, they being so substantially built. At Ingleborough, in Yorkshire, there exist the remains of one built on the top of a hill, which covered an area of thirty-one acres, scientifically inclosed by means of ramparts. In different parts of the Yorkshire hills, too, trenches have been cut some thirteen and fourteen miles in length, The so-called Danes' Dyke at Flamborough, a strong double entrenchment nearly three miles long, and the Givendale and Scamridge Dykes, are most probably of this class. There are others to be found on the moor near Seamer, and indeed with greater or less frequency all over the Wolds. These defences evince in our ancestors not only an amount of engineering skill, but an enormous amount of patience; and considering the inefficiency of the implements they employed, their works must have involved a considerable amount of labour.

Earthworks at Middleham.



EARTHWORKS OF THE ENGLISH PERIOD.

MIDDLEHAM.

It may be taken for granted that in the Conquests of Yorkshire the stands made by the conquered against the invader have all been in succession at the same places, and that these places were first selected by the aboriginal Celts, fortified by them, and held in strength as centres of rule and domination. It may therefore generally be taken for granted that where the Norman erected his castle, there, in more or less potence the rule of the district had been maintained for two thousand years before the uprearing of the baronial citadel. This conclusion is abundantly favoured, if not absolutely proved, by recurring evidences. As a matter of military expediency it would necessarily be so; for just inasmuch as the first inhabitants would be the makers of the first road or path through the forest and over the marsh, insomuch would the points of their convergence continue to be the points where power should be maintained and where it must also protect itself from being assailed. With this assumption in our mind we may read much more of the history of the past, while noticing the sites of our baronial fortresses than the mere stones of these fabrics are capable of telling us.

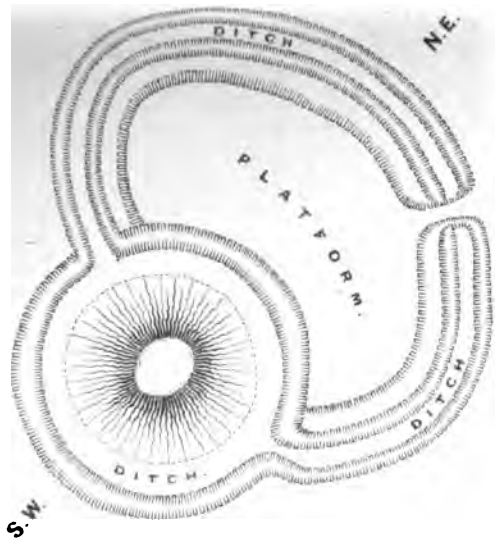
Scarcely five minutes' walk southwards from Middleham Castle is a rather remarkable earthwork which has hitherto escaped critical notice. On the Inch Ordnance map it is marked as a camp, but the scale is too small to allow any of its details to be shown. The long low ridge that separates Coverdale from the vale of the Ure becomes lower and narrower as it passes eastward, until it finally ceases altogether about a mile short of the junction of the two rivers. A little above Middleham the ridge is known as the Low Moor, and is a celebrated training ground for race-horses. Upon this ridge, at a point just east of the training ground, where it is very narrow and not above 100 feet above the town of Middleham, is seen the earthwork, which may be thus described:—A level space, nearly circular and about 75 feet in diameter, is surrounded by a circular bank of earth about 7 feet high above the contained area, but on its outer side passing down into a ditch also circular, about 25 feet to 30 feet deep from the bank, and about 12 feet below

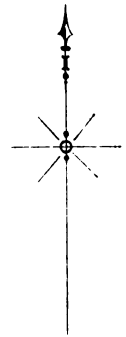
the ground beyond it. This bank, however, which during most of its length is a mere ridge, is towards the west expanded into a sort of platform or mound, about 20 feet in diameter and tolerably level on the top. Beyond the ditch which surrounds this work, upon its counterscarp, is a second bank, lower than the inner one. The whole of this part of the earthwork is about 260 feet diameter by 240 feet, the excess of breadth being due to the expanded inner bank. (*See Plate.*)

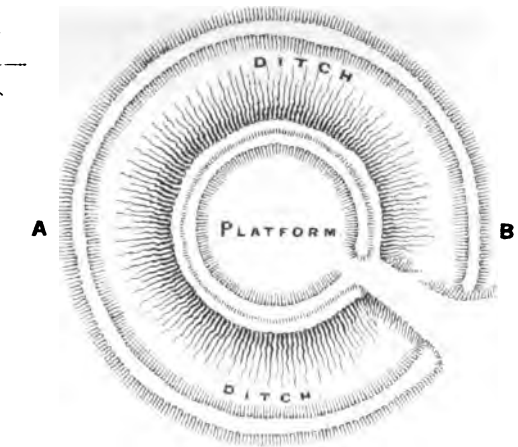
Towards the east, opposite to the broad part, the bank is cut through and a causeway crosses the ditch showing that here was the entrance. On this side, covering therefore the entrance, is a semi-lunar enclosure, appended to the main enclosure and defended also by a bank and ditch. In the outer or eastern part of this, opposite to the inner entrance, is a second or outer passage formed in the same way. A few yards in front of this second opening a slight bank and ditch are thrown for a few yards across the ridge, and in advance again of these is a further line of the same character, the object evidently being to protect the approach, which passed not through but parallel to these two outer defences. The design of the whole is simple, but not without skill, and when the earthworks were higher and duly armed with palisades the strength of the work would be considerable. Although the appended drawing represents truly enough the general plan of this outwork, the representation is of far too precise and definite a character, much that has been destroyed by time is there restored to freshness and symmetry.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN.

The Castle-hill.—This very perfect and very interesting earthwork, an earthwork with a history, stands in a grass-field a few yards west of the parish church, the lofty spire of which is a well-known landmark. The churchyard, and possibly the church itself, have encroached somewhat upon the boundaries of their older and secular neighbour. The earthwork is composed of the Castle-hill and an enclosed area appended to one side of it. The hill is a wholly artificial mound of earth, conical in form, with a flat circular top, about 25 ft. in diameter, while the base is about 112 ft. It rises about 30 ft. out of a circular ditch, 12 ft. deep, measuring from the level of its outer side, and about 42 ft. broad. Outside this ditch, resting upon it, and covering about one-third of its circumference on the north-eastern quarter, is a more or less lunated enclosure from 5 ft. to 90 ft, across in depth, also included within a ditch which communicates at each end with that of the mound, so that, of this outwork, the main ditch forms the rear or concave defence, and its proper ditch the convex defence or that to the front. Along this convex edge, a strong bank 8 ft. high and 15 ft. broad, crests the ditch, which is about 20 ft. broad, and 6 ft. below the exterior level. The bank is cut through and the ditch traversed by a narrow causeway towards the east-north-east, no doubt representing the original entrance, which probably was over a timber bridge. There may have been other works, but they are not at







LAUGHTON.

PICKERING.

this time very apparent. In the churchyard, a little north of the church, is a straight bank, now very low, which may, as at Barwick, have covered the approach to the mound, but is more probably a trace of a Roman camp, hereabouts not uncommon, and for which the position is very suitable. This is a very common, perhaps the most common type of a Saxon or Early English dwelling; for the arrangement is not concentric as at Barwick, but the mould is in the general enceinte, of which two-thirds or so of its proper ditch form a part, as at Tickhill and Tonbridge. Had it suited the Norman settler to inhabit this spot he would have placed a shell-keep upon the mound, and built a curtain round the edge of the attached area, bringing its ends up the slopes of the mound to the keep, as at Hawarden, Warwick, or Tickhill. Here, as at Huntingdon, the ditch of the mound shuts it off from the rest of the place. This is not the case at Hawarden, nor at Tickhill, unless indeed the ditch at the latter place has been filled up on the inner side.

Laughton belongs to a district full of the traces of Saxon rule and occupation, "Morthen" is thought to represent the moor-portion or division, and Laughton is no doubt the Law-town, the seat of an early Saxon jurisdiction. Laughton appears in the Domesday as the "aula" of Earl Edwin. "Ibi habet comes Edwinus aulam," and to it belonged fifty-four or fifty-five carucates of land. Edwin was a powerful person, being Earl of Mercia, brother of Morcar, and with a sister married to Harold. Laughton was the head of a soke which contained the townships of Laughton-with-Thropum, north and south Anstan, Thorpe-Salvin, and Walis. There seems reason to add to these four more, Lettwell, Firbeck, Gilding Wells, and Woodsetts, forming altogether an extensive fee. The English lord held also Slade-Hooton and Newhall, and a part of Dinnington. The present parish still corresponds with the ancient soke, although its ecclesiastical dependencies or chapelries of Walis, Anstan, Thorpe, Letwell, and Firbeck were not attached to it until the reign of Henry I. The church is not actually named in Domesday, but it is undoubtedly of early Anglian foundation, a presumption enhanced by its dedication to "All Saints." Laughton, therefore, as the mother church of a large parish, the head of a considerable soke, and residence of an English Earl; was from the remote times a considerable place. There is great fitness in its position, and in the spire of 115 ft. high, which later piety has combined with traces of masonry of the age of Henry I. Mr. Hunter takes Laughton to be the "Mortigton" or town of the Morthing, mentioned in the will of Wulfric Spot, the other places named in this early document being around it. The entire soke of Earl Edwin was granted by William to Roger de Buisli, and under his rule became a member of the Norman Honour of Tickhill, though in the Survey it takes precedence of that place, being at the head of the Earl's possessions. The descent of Laughton from the Conquest is that of Tickhill. It was held by its lords in demesne, the rest of the Honour being in the hands of tenants, so that the tradition of the Empress Maud having lived here may well be true. In the foundation charter of Blyth, Roger de Buisli,

grants the tythe of the residence, "decima aulæ," so that the hall or house probably survived the Conquest. Long afterwards, 42 Henry III., Geoffrey de Lusignan held Laughton *in capite* from Prince Edward, and Ist Edward II., he was there seized of a messuage and an acre of land, which no doubt represented Earl Edwin's Hall.

THE SAXON CHURCH OF LAUGHTON,

a place which, from the loftiness of its site, is said to catch the first beams of the rising sun, and has long gone by the popular and cheery description of "Lighton in the Morning." Its true name, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, was, as Mr. Hunter interpreted it, "Law-town," implying that in early times it might have been the seat of a local jurisdiction, though perhaps it might be derived from the Anglo-Saxon "hlaw," a hill; "en-le-morthen" denoting its situation in the moorland district where the *Mor-thing*, the local parliament of the Danes at least, transacted the public business, as most probably the Celts had done a thousand years before their time. We may well suppose that lofty exposed situation to have long continued after the more sheltered and richer lands around had been brought into cultivation. There seemed reason to suppose that they had in the remarkable earthworks which still remained, the site of one of a series of Brigantian strongholds, which a late local antiquary who had much studied the subject (Mr. S. Mitchell) well pointed out, formed as it were an outwork of the southern portion of that powerful people, remains of other of these fortresses being found at Tickhill, Roche Abbey, Leys, Todwick, Beighton, Mosborough, Holmesfield, Carlswark, Hathersage, and Hope, the actual formation of the Brigantian territories following the line of the valley of the river Don. Be this as it might, there could be no question that Laughton was a place of considerable importance in the Saxon times. The first mention they had of it was probably to be found in the testament or will of Wulfric Spott, who was stated to have been the Minister of King Ethelred the Unready (978-1017) and who possessed much property in this and the other neighbourhoods. From the Domesday Book they learnt that it was the property of the great Saxon, Edwin, Earl of Mercia, as the neighbouring manor was of his brother-in-law, Earl Harold, afterwards King of England. In that important document they were also informed that Edwin had a hall here, which was doubtless seated on the remarkable earthwork already alluded to. The uncommon doorway of the Church on the north side, near the west end, was of such rude and peculiar character that it might well be considered among the very earliest of our ecclesiastical remains, and as dating to a period before the Conquest. Mr. E. Roberts remarked that the porch of the north doorway was unquestionably Saxon. It bore a strong resemblance to the stonework of the seventh and eighth centuries.

BARWICK-IN-ELMETE.

Hall Tower-hill.—This also is a very remarkable earthwork. It is wholly artificial, and stands on very high ground in a grass field about a furlong west of the parish church, and almost within the village. The ground is the highest in the immediate neighbourhood, and slopes rapidly towards the west. The work is composed of a conical mound, known as Hall Tower-hill. It has a slightly hollow summit, no doubt originally circular, and 40 ft. diameter, but which has been rendered slightly oval and otherwise affected by the slipping of the earth. It is about 30 ft. high, and covers a base of about 200 ft. diameter. It stands in and rises out of a circular ditch, from 6 ft. to 12 ft. deep, measured from the outer level, and here and there partially filled up. The circle is placed within a platform of irregular figure, the exterior limits of which are from 15 ft. to 60 ft. and even 100 ft. from the inner ditch, and which is surrounded by a bank of earth, which, to the south, where the platform is 15 ft, wide, rises about 8 ft. above its level. On the north side, the platform is 60 ft. wide and the bank 6 ft. high. Beyond the bank in each direction is a ditch. The south is the weak side, and there the bank is at its highest, and the ditch at its broadest. This higher part of the bank is about 240 ft. long. It ends abruptly towards the east. These works are less plainly seen on the east and west sides. On the latter the natural slope rendered them of rather less consequence. The entrance was apparently on the east side, from the village. At the north-east quarter, where a new burial-ground encroaches somewhat on the works, the northern bank, instead of sweeping round the platform, seems to have turned in a direct line eastward, possibly to cover the approach. Attached to the above work, on the north side, is or was, a large and more or less circular area, enclosed within a bank and ditch, and known as Wendell-hill. It is now very obscure, partly from the tillage, partly from some cottages and their gardens. Whitaker mentions it.

It is to be remarked that this Barwick earth-work is concentric, that is to say, the mound, and its ditches stand within and clear of the above described second inclosure, more or less perfect, to the outside of which Wendell Hill is an appendage. Also, it may be remarked that here, as at Laughton, and unlike Old Sarum, there is no bank on the outer edge, or counterscarp of the ditch. In its detached mound and surrounding area Barwick may be likened to Pickering Castle (not the camp), although the earth-works there, being governed by the character of the ground, and altered to some slight extent by the later masonry, present more of an angular outline.

Barwick, or Berwick, usually is a name applied to an appendage to a manor. Dr. Whitaker suggests that this particular name may have been Bergwic, the village of the berg or burgh, or castle, an etymology which would carry back the earthworks to a period before the parochial nomenclature was fixed, early in the history of the Northumbrian kingdom. However this may be, Barwick is the reputed residence of

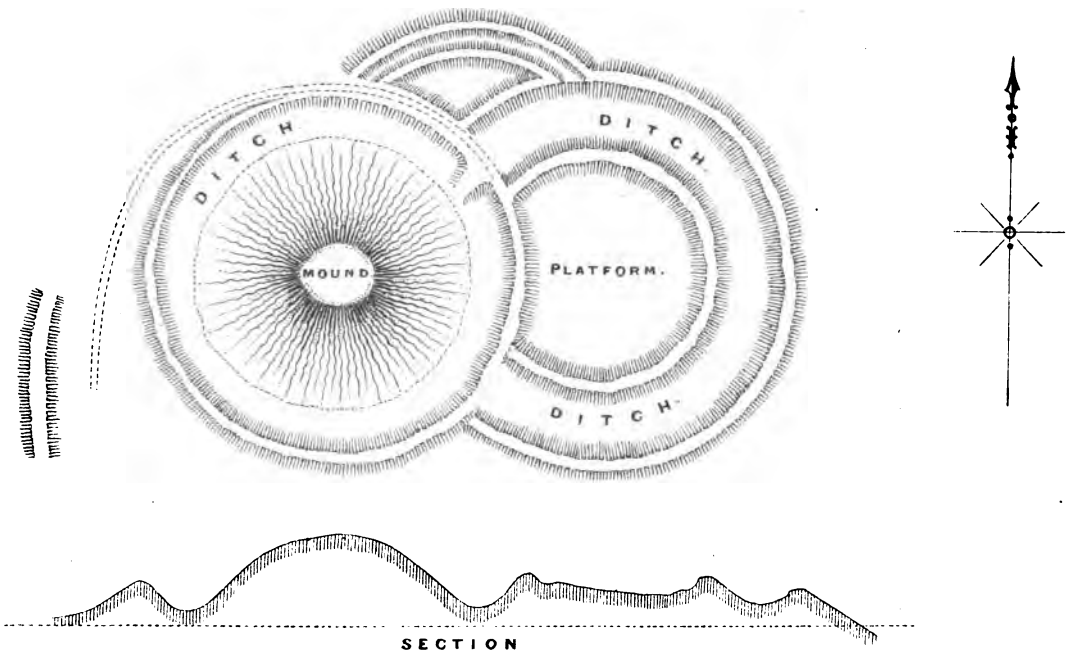
Edwin of Northumbria, at the time of his conversion by Paulinus in A.D. 620. The works are certainly very unlike any of known Roman or British origin and closely resemble those of the district admitted to be Saxon. Whitaker is disposed to regard Wendell's Hill as a corruption of Edwin's Hill. There is no trace of masonry upon or about these earthworks, and no tradition that they were ever inhabited by any Norman lord.

THE RIBBLESDALE MOUNDS.

About three miles below the town and castle of Clitheroe, the Ribble receives on its right or western bank, the Hodder, the two streams forming the boundary of a cape of Yorkshire, which there projects sharply into Lancashire. The combined waters, thus augmented considerably in volume, are projected against the mass of high ground to the south, and encircle within their sweep a broad expanse of perfectly level meadow, evidently deposited as the river has shifted its course. In the centre of the bend, upon its left or southern bank, the river is joined by a third stream, the Calder, which flows down from Whalley Abbey, placed upon it about two miles higher up. Here, in this water-girdled flat, a very striking position, are two large "mounds," so entitled on the Ordnance map. They are placed about a furlong apart, and about the same distance from the river. The larger and best defined, that to the south, is oval or somewhat pear-shaped in plan, about 27 ft. by 50 ft. on the table-top, and about 30 ft. high. The top is scarred as though it had been built upon, or perhaps partially opened. The other is less defined in outline, and not quite so high. Neither has any surrounding ditch, nor any sort of appended earthworks. They are possibly or probably sepulchral, and although placed most conveniently for defence, do not appear to have been so intended. The walk to the river side from Whalley is a pleasant one, and there is a ferry a short distance from the mounds.

PICKERING.

On the right bank of the Beck, a little below but in full view of the castle, is a curious earthwork of the circular type so common in Yorkshire. It is placed on the summit of a round hill, 200 feet or so above the river, and a few score yards to the west of it. It is composed of a central mound and circumscribing ditch. The mound is not, like those of Barwick and Laughton, wholly artificial, but the contents of the ditch have been thrown inwards, and the ground thus increased to a height has been trimmed and scarped. The mound, as at present seen is conical with a circular and flat top, surrounded by a light bank or breastwork about 4 feet high. The mound is 90 ft. in diameter at the top, and about 190 ft. at the base, and 20 ft. high. It rises out of a circular ditch, about 10 ft. broad, and at present not above 6 ft. deep. The entrance seems to have been on the south-east quarter. The position though slightly lower than that of the castle, commands a much



Castle Hill, Mexborough.

finer and more extensive view, not only of the tower and castle, and up the rocky ravine down which the river descends from the Cleveland Moors, but far eastward and south over the fertile vales of the Seven and the Rye, from Kirkby Moorside and Helmsley to the wooded ridge of Slingsby and New Malton, a fair and fertile region, and one full of objects of antiquarian interest.

ROTHERHAM.

Upon the right of the Tickhill-road, scarcely clear of the town, is a deep valley, containing a brook which descends from the south-east and flows across the town to feed the Don. Upon the left bank of this stream is an oblong knoll, which looks very much as though it had been a Saxon earthwork.

CASTLE-HILL, MEXBOROUGH.

The earthwork so called is situate about a mile east of the town of Mexborough, and upon the eastern and subsiding end of the ridge upon a higher and broader part of which the town is built. The Don is here flowing eastwards about a quarter of a mile distant, the earthwork being on its left bank. Also it is placed between two roads which unite a little to the east of it and lead to the adjacent castle of Conyngsborough. Thus although the ground to the west is considerably higher than the work; that to the north, south, and east is much lower, and before the country was drained or fully inhabited, was probably a marsh. To the immediate north also lies the course of the Dearne, which joins the Don about two miles lower down. The site, therefore, though not lofty, was on the whole well chosen, and was especially strong on the west, whence the Danes, the most dangerous of the Saxon foes, were likely to make their approach. The site actually occupied by the works is well marked, about 50 feet above the adjacent ground, and perhaps 80 ft. above the Don. The work is composed of a circular mound, girt by a ditch, appended to the outer side of which are two wards or enclosures, each with its bank and ditch. The mound is about 25 ft. above the adjacent ground, and nearly 35 ft. above the bottom of the ditch. The top is no longer flat, having been rounded by time and weather, so that its original diameter is lost, also it is scarped as though it had been dug up. At the base it is about 120 ft. diameter, and the ditch may be 12 ft. more. On the outer edge or counterscarp of the ditch is a bank, steep where the ground is level, small and low where it falls more rapidly. East of the ditch is a lunated enclosure, the notch being the side abutting on the main ditch. This area is about 120 ft. east and west by 136 ft. north and south. It is contained within a bank and beyond that a ditch. Thus, so far, the general plan of the work is a figure of 8, the mound occupying one circle and the outer ward the other. The notch between the two circles is, however, covered on the north side, by a smaller work, about 45 ft. diameter. This, resting upon

the two circles, is itself about a quarter of a circle. It also has its bank and exterior ditch. The approach to the work is from the south-west. As the way ascends the ridge, on the left is seen a small curved bank and ditch, by which it is covered from the west. On reaching the outer edge of the ditch of the mound the road skirts it for a few feet, and then passes into the rear of the lesser ward, by means of a causeway which divides the main ditch from that of its outwork. Thence it is continued along the edge of the main ditch, until it reaches two causeways, one leading into the larger ward, the other upon the foot of the mound, the entrance to which was thus protected by the junction of the two wards. The works are wholly artificial, and have certainly been both higher and deeper, and probably rather more extensive. Enough, however, remains to show that the work belongs to the same class with Laughton, Barwick, Wincobank, Pickering, and Tickhill, and therefore has been a Saxon or Early English strong residence. According to Matthew of Westminster, the Saxons were defeated by the Britons in this neighbourhood, A.D. 487, at Maesbeli, which has been supposed to be at or near Mexborough, and no doubt in those early days the Yorkshire dales, and especially those about Doncaster, and the old Roman seats, were the scenes of many such contests, although probably such an earthwork as Castle-hill belonged to a more settled period, when the Saxon leaders had possessed themselves of landed property, and had laid the foundations at least of law and order. Mexborough appears in Domesday as "Mechesburg," which seems to be a recognition of the burgh or castle. Ulfac, Ulchel, and Ulcheld then held five carucates under Roger de Buisli, the tenant in chief. Roger's lot included the four great earthworks of Tickhill, Laughton, Barwick, and Wincobank.

From the Builder. G. T. CLARKE, F.S.A

TICKHILL, CAMP AND CASTLE.

Tickhill Castle is an excellent example of a pre-Norman or English earthwork, composed of mound, fosse, and lower ward, converted into a Norman castle. It exemplifies exactly the manner in which the Norman engineers treated earthworks of this description, and how such works gave rise to one of the two great types of a Norman castle, that with the shell-keep. Tickhill is Laughton on a larger scale, the only difference being that the ditch of the mound is not carried wholly round it, but is wanting towards the attached area. Either it was never formed, or, what is not improbable, was filled up when the Norman works were constructed, or, as at Cardiff, at a much later period. Something analogous to this seems to have taken place at Kenilworth.

In the original construction of this fortress advantage was taken of a knoll of soft sandstone rock to form the base of the mound. This was scarped, the ditch dug, and the material employed in forming the upper two-thirds of the mound. A modern cave in the side shows this natural base. The castle is composed of the mound, and a court or ward appended to its western side, the whole included within a ditch. The mound is conical, about 60 ft. diameter at its table top, and about 60 ft. high, above the ward. The ward is a rounded and more or less circular area, save where it touches the mound, and includes about one-quarter of its circumference. The exterior ditch follows the figure of this ward, and of the uncovered three-quarters of the mound: hence in plan it resembles somewhat a figure of 8, and it is this notch in the out line that makes it probable that the mound ditch was once complete, and the two parts of the fortress were, as at Barwick, distinct. The domestic buildings stood in the lower ward, on its western edge, opposite to the mound upon which was the keep. The gatehouse stands on the southern edge of the ward, between the domestic buildings and the keep. The curtain or connecting wall is broken down to the east, but elsewhere tolerably perfect. The ditch is filled up on the same side, and its place occupied as a kitchen-garden and by stables.

Upon the summit of the mound are seen the foundations of the keep, a decagon, the sides of which average 16 ft. 11 in., of which each angle was covered by a flat pilaster of 4 ft. broad, and very slight projection. The door seems to have been towards the south-west, of 4 ft. 6 in. opening. It lay between two sides of the exceptional length of 20 ft. The wall seems to have been, at the top of the plinth, 10 ft. thick. The shell was apparently faced with ashlar. The whole building has been taken down with some care to the top of the plinth, a mere plain chamfer, formerly about 6 in. above the ground, and now covered to its level. Thus the actual dimensions of the plan are preserved, and the position and breadth of the entrance. It is said there is a well within the area, a few feet inside the place of the door. If so, it is at present entirely concealed.

The keep at this time is ascended by seventy-five stone steps in a straight line on the western face. Possibly this was the original approach. If so, the path from the head of the stair must have passed for 20 ft. round the outside of the keep. The steps terminate below under the shelter of the curtain. The two ends of the curtain ascend the mound about two-thirds of its height. Probably they were continued to the summit, but no foundations are now seen at the keep level, and the plinth of the keep shows there was no bond. The curtains which thus ascended these mounds rarely were bonded into the keep, and do not seem ever to have risen to its full height. On the contrary, they seem to have only risen to the level of the top of the mound or those of the keep, the parapet probably being continued so as to stop the passage round its base. This seems to have been the case at Tunbridge, Berkhampstead, and Tamworth. At Hawarden the curtain abuts against the keep about 10 ft. high, but with no original bond, and with a doorway in it opening outside the base of the keep. The curtain which enclosed the lower ward is here from 10 ft. to 13 ft. thick, and 20 ft. to 30 ft. high, with a plinth at its interior base. It rises out of a bank which forms a ramp or terrace 15 ft. broad, on both outer and inner sides. Inside, this ramp is about 8 ft. above the court-level. Outside, it forms a walk all round the fortress, being carried by a bridge over the gateway, and in a step or notch round the slope of the mound. The curtain is entire from the mound to the dwelling-house, about 240 ft., along the north front, but to the west it is concealed by the house which represents the domestic buildings of the castle. It also remains from the house to the gatehouse, and about 50 ft. or 60 ft. beyond it along the south front. Towards the south-east about 300 ft. are gone, but the last 78 ft.. where it again ascends the mound, are tolerably perfect. Where the outer wall skirts the mound, it has on its upper side a revetment wall, 6 ft. high, and which may have been higher, and crested with a parapet to defend this front.

The exterior ditch is broad and deep, and in part contains water. Formerly it was fed from an adjacent stream, which flowed all round it. Beyond the ditch was a bank of earth, of which traces and portions

remain, especially towards the north. It is difficult to say whether there was a second ditch, owing to the encroachments of the roads and buildings.

The gatehouse deserves special notice, as an original and early Norman structure. It is 36 ft. square, with walls 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and has a round-headed-gateway at each end, of 12 ft. opening with a plain rebate for doors, but no portcullis or chamfer. The inner space was covered with timber, and there was an upper story. This may have been partially rebuilt; it contains in the wall over the inner door a large Tudor window, probably an insertion. There is no staircase. The structure much resembles Porchester before the alterations. It is placed upon the curtain, with a bold exterior, and still bolder interior projection. The outer front of the first floor is ornamented with four stiff rude pediments, each a right-angled triangle, with a rude figure at the apex of each, and in the hollow angle or gutter, joined each pair. The tympana are filled with square blocks, each carved with an undeveloped dog-tooth ornament. A plain string marks the division of the two stages, and so far all is Norman. But although the upper part is unaltered, the lower part has been masked by a Decorated gateway with portcullis groove and pointed arch, while in front of and flanking this arch two walls, 6 ft. thick, project 15 ft. and contained between them the drawbridge. Above and upon these, concealing the upper part of the arch of entrance, is a low flat bridge, which carries the exterior walk, or *chemin de ronde*, over the entrance, and from which the grate was worked. Had it not been for this bridge, and its Decorated connections, it might have been supposed that the *chemin de ronde* was a mere modern pleasure walk, whereas it is clear that it was a part of the defence, a work covering the foot of the wall, and no doubt strongly palisaded. There is no trace of a parapet.

The gatehouse seems Early Norman, probably with most of the curtain it was the work of Roger de Buisli before 1089. The keep looks later, but it must have been part of the original design, and possibly the works begun by Roger were completed by his son. In the Decorated period there were probably considerable additions. Perhaps, when the gatehouse was masked, and the bridge thrown over it, the curtain also was repaired a new parapet added, and the *chemin de ronde* formed. Leland speaks of a hall, now gone. Where the chapel stood it is not known. A door case which may have belonged to it has been removed and set up inside the gatehouse, and outside is an old oak door of the style of James I., on which are carved the words,—

"Peace and grace
Be to this place."

The entrance-way now leads up to the gatehouse across a modern bridge, over the wet ditch. To the south of the place is a tributary of the river Torne or Thorne, which covered the front.

This is one of the most curious castles in Yorkshire, not only for its pure Norman gatehouse, and the undisturbed foundation of its shell-keep, but because it shows how the Norman lords availed themselves of an

English seat, and how their architects or engineers accommodated their defences to the already existing earthworks. It should be studied in conjunction with Pickering for the general plan and the Norman works, and with Barwick-in-Elmete and Laughton-en-le-Morthen for the general resemblance of the earthwork. Unfortunately there is no plan.

As a place of high antiquity, both before and for some centuries after the Norman Conquest the importance of Tickhill as a stronghold, and the head of an extensive lordship was very considerable. Mr. Hunter suggests "The-Wickhill," in allusion to the village mount, as a probable etymology for the name, and cites "Thunder-cliffe," or "Th' Under Cliffe," as an analogous case. This must be received with very considerable hesitation, if it be not absolutely rejected. It is much more probable that this compound word Tick-hill should be interpreted *The hill with a roof on*, the word *Tick* being from the Saxon word *Thecen* a roof or *Tice* a beam. This derivation would obviously carry us back to an early domestic occupation of the earthworks. It seems that near Sheffield Castle was a mall green called "The Wick-er," and "Ticken-hall," near Bewdley, was the seat of an early fortress. Tickhill, however, though obviously an early name, is not recorded in Domesday, but is thought to be included in Dadsley, a name still extant in the immediate neighbourhood. In "Dadesleia, Stanetone, and Helgæli," Elsi and Siward held eight carucates,—Roger de Buisli held seven in demesne; there were also thirty-one burgesses, a class whose presence has been held to indicate a burgh or castle. The family—called also de Bussi, Buslei, and Buthlei—sprang from Bussi near Neufchatel. Roger de Buisli was tenant in chief of the above and other manors, comprising the honour of Tickhill, a division certainly based upon an earlier fee, of which Tickhill was the chief seat. The Norman Honour numbered sixty-five and three quarters knight fees, and extended from Yorkshire into the shires of Derby, Lincoln, Notts, and Leicester, including one manor in Devon. It appears from Domesday Book that this manor, Sandford, was given to de Buisli with his wife Muriel, by Queen Matilda—*cum uxore sua.* Tickhill, which seems to have been sometimes called Blythe, which, however, was also the name of a place in the adjacent part of Lincolnshire, was the chief seat of the powerful house of De Buisli during their somewhat brief career.

Roger de Buisli received Tickhill from the Conqueror, who erected it into an honour in his favour. Roger had a choice in his wide Yorkshire domains of three ancient English seats, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Mexborough, and Tickhill. He selected the last; and the two other sites retain their English earthworks, unaltered by Norman masonry, and changed only by time. Laughton seems to have been originally superior even to Tickhill, perhaps as the residence of Earl Edwin, being named in the Domesday Survey. Roger himself may have fortified Tickhill with masonry, the gatehouse and much of the wall being probably his work. The foundations of the shell-keep look rather later, but may too be of this date. He was also the founder of Blythe Priory, in 1088, which he

made dependent on the Abbey of Mount St. Catherine. He died 1098, and was succeeded by his son Robert, who died childless in the reign of Henry I. The descent of Tickhill now becomes obscure. Roger had a brother Ernald, who held six fees under Tickhill; and a sister Beatrix, from whom descended the Earls of Eu. On Robert's death, Tickhill was claimed by Robert de Belesme as the next heir; and, as he was powerful, and supported his claim by payment of a heavy fine, or bribe, he succeeded. On his death, however, King Henry stepped in, and took possession. The castle remained for a time, with some brief intervals in the crown. William Fitz-Godric held it in 1142, and Stephen, Earl of Eu, for a time. Ralph, Earl of Chester, had it in 1151-3, and Lacy of Pontefract. Henry II., however, seems to have settled it upon Eleanor, his queen, who founded the "Chapel of St. Nicholas within the walls."

It descended to Richard I. In his absence it was seized by Prince John, and besieged for Richard by Pudsey, Bishop of Durham. When John inherited it as king, he annexed his mother's chapel to the chapter of Rouen. John was frequently at Tickhill, which is remarkable, as there was no park or chase annexed to it. He was here six times between 1200 and 1216 for at least eleven days. The Queen was stopping there in 1201, the Sheriff paying 25/10½ for her sustenance; he also pays for what appears to have been consequent upon the royal visit, £4/18/4 spent in repair of the castle wall, and the houses in the castle. Early in John's reign, however, the Earl of Eu, being powerful, claimed Tickhill as the husband of Alice, heiress of Henry Earl of Eu, and representative of Beatrix, sister of Roger de Buisli. Ralph de Issoudon, or de Lusignan, her husband, and earl in her right in 1197, seems to have been son of Geoffrey de Lusignan, who was to marry a daughter of King John, in consequence of which the king agreed to restore Tickhill to Ralph and his wife, and John de Bassingbourn was ordered to give possession, which was supplemented by an order to the same effect, 1 Henry III. Mean time another claimant appeared, in the person of Idonea, representative of Ernald, Roger de Buisli's brother; she had married Robert de Vipont, a baron much employed by John, and not unfrequently in connexion with Tickhill. Thus in 1204 he was concerned in certain repairs at the castle, as also in 1206, which included a barn and stables. In 1207 he was to be paid for these repairs, and he was also employed upon the king's castles of Nottingham, Bolsover, the Peak, and Scarborough. In 1208 five dolia of red wine, such as would keep, were to be sent to him at Tickhill, for the king. Idonea, Vipont's wife, held by descent six fees in Tickhill, and now claimed the rest against Countess Alice, 6th Henry III. Alice had the best of it; but in 9th Henry III. she went abroad, probably to her Norman estates, and in consequence Tickhill seems to have lapsed to the Crown.

Henry III., when king, granted it to Prince Edward, who in 1254, settled it upon Eleanor of Castile, but in 1259-60, Edmund de Lacy, constable of Chester, used the phrase "Baronia mea de Tikehull," as

though in possession as absolute lord. Prince Edward, however, granted it to his cousin Henry, son of Richard, king of the Romans, in 1263. In 1296 John, Earl of Eu, revived the family claim. He was grandson of Alphonso (son of John, king of Jerusalem), by a daughter of Countess Alice. His claim was speedily set aside, he being an alien. In 1318 the king granted to Ralph, Earl of Eu, who had married Joan one of the daughters and heirs of Dennis de Merlawe then dead, the custody of the moiety of the manor of Laughton, co Ebor, and other manors to hold to the legitimate age of Margaret, the other daughter and heir, returning £47 16s. 6¼d. per year, and £10 of increment. He had also grants of some Irish estates belonging to the same Dennis. This was the last assertion of the right, but a century later it was remembered, when Henry V. created William Bourchier Earl of Eu and Lord Bourchier of Tickhill, titles only, not connected with the property, which remained in the Crown.

In February, 1322, the castle was besieged for three weeks by Thomas of Lancaster, and this siege is one of the charges brought against him on his trial :—"Et misit homines suos . . . . ad obsidendum castrum domini Regis de Tikhull; et quædam ingenia, ad projiciendum petras grossas super castrum prædictum, et homines in eodem castro ex parte domini Regis existentes; qui quidem proditores castrum illud, per tres septimanos continué insultando et debellando, obsederunt, et quosdem homines Regis ibidem interfecerunt." The castle was defended gallantly by Sir William de Anne, and relieved by the king in person. Tickhill was again settled upon a queen, in the person of Philippa, who died in 1369. In 1362, Edward exchanged Tickhill with John of Gaunt, against the honour of Richmond, and it descended with the other estates of the duchy of Lancaster. In the Parliamentary struggle it was held for the king, but surrendered after Marston Moor, and was dismantled. When thus held, it was defended in advance by the moat and by the palisades on the counterscarp. The foundation of the chapel was dissolved, 1st Edward VI. The Castle now belongs to the Earl of Scarborough.

From *The Builder.* G. T. CLARKE, F.S.A.

THE BUSLIS OF TICKHILL, AND THE SIEGE OF TICKHILL CASTLE.

On the death of Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, slain by King Magnus of Norway, in 1103, his brother Robert de Belesme, presented himself to William Rufus and offered him three thousand pounds sterling for the Earldom. Having thus secured it, he exercised great cruelties on the Welsh during four years. He built a very strong castle at Bridgenorth, on the Severn, transferring the town and people of Quatford to the new fortress. He also laid claim to the lands of Blythe, in Nottinghamshire, in right of his cousin, Roger de Bushlis, who had there founded a priory dependent on the abbey of Mount St. Catherine. He obtained a grant of these lands from the King for a great sum of money. But as his wealth augmented by the possession of such vast territories, he was inflated with pride, and becoming a follower of Belial abandoned himself without reserve to flagitious and cruel deeds. His violence and cupidity knew no bounds, and respected no persons. He had already forcibly erected castles—those of Saone and St. Remi du Plain—on the property of others in the county of Maine, on the possessions of the abbeys St. Peter de la Contoure and St. Vincent the Martyr, using them for the grievous oppression of the peasants. The valiant Count Elias hearing this, he did not behave like a coward, but encountered Robert in arms on the river Roullic, in the territory of the Saonois, and invoking the holy Bishop St. Julian, in the name of the Lord gave him battle, and defeated and drove him with shame from the field, although he commanded superior forces. In this engagement Robert de Courci was wounded, losing his right eye; Goulfier de Villeret, William de Moulins, Geoffrey de Gacé, and many others were made prisoners. William de Moulins was the eldest son of William de Moulins by his wife Aubrey; Geoffrey de Gacé was perhaps a son or relative of Ralph Tete d'Ane.

The family of Bussi, Buslei, or Buthlei, sprang from Bussi, near Neufchatel. Roger's principal seat in England after the Conquest was at Tickhill. It appears in Domesday Book that he had a great many manors; one of them, Sandford, in Devonshire, was granted by Queen Matilda to him and his wife on their marriage, *cum uxore sua*. His wife's name was Muriel. The male line of their descendants failed in 1213, and their possessions passed into the hands of the family of Vipont (Vieux-Pont) by the marriage of Idonea, their great grand-daughter, with Robert de Vipont.

In the troubles arising out of John's treachery to King Richard during the latter's absence, we find recorded by Roger de Houden in 1193:—All the principal men of the kingdom met together and laid siege to Windsor, the castle of the Earl of Mortaigne. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York; Hugh Bardolph, the King's Justiciary; the Sheriff of York, and William de Stuteville, assembling their forces, came to Doncaster and fortified it. But when the Archbishop of York wished to

proceed thence and lay siege to Tickhill, a castle belonging to the Earl of Mortaigne, Hugh Bardolph and William Stuteville would not agree thereto, because they were laymen of Earl John; on which the Archbishop of York left them, with his people, calling them traitors to the King and his realm. The King of England still remaining in the custody of the Emperor of the Romans, all people were surprised at his thus delaying; and some, in consequence of the predictions of the Earl of Mortaigne, who always predicted that he would never return, doubted about him and his ever returning. In consequence of this, Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, and the other justiciaries of England, although they had compelled the Earl of Mortaigne to surrender, and had nearly taken his castle of Windsor, made a truce with the Earl of Mortaigne until the feast of All Saints, the Castles of Nottingham and Tickhill remaining in the charge of the Earl as before. But the Castles of Windsor, Wallingford, and of the Peak were given into the hands of Queen Eleanor, the mother of the Earl of Mortaigne, and of some other custodians, who were to deliver them into his hands if the King, his brother, should not come in the meantime. When Hugh, Bishop of Durham, who had in the meantime been laying siege to the Castle of Tickhill, heard of this he was greatly vexed, as he now felt sure of taking it; but by the command of the said justiciaries he took his departure, leaving his task incomplete.

Richard landed in England from captivity on the 12th March, 1194. On the sixth day, about the third hour, he left the port of Swiene; and on the day after, about the ninth hour, landed in England, at the port of Sandwich, it being the third day before the ides of March, and the Lord's day. John was excommunicated. Upon this all the persons who had charge of the siege of the castles belonging to Earl John returned to their homes. Accordingly, the Bishop of Durham, to whom had been intrusted the siege of the castle of Tickhill, levied a large army in Yorkshire and Northumberland, and other parts of his lands, and laid siege to it. Earl David, also brother of the King of Scotland, with Randolph, Earl of Chester, and the Earl of Ferrers, with a great army laid siege to Nottingham Castle. In like manner the castle of Lancaster, of which Theobald Fitzwalter, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had charge on behalf of Earl John, was surrendered to him. Nottingham and Tickhill made a stout resistance to the besiegers. But on hearing of the King's arrival the people in the castle of Tickhill, with the permission of the Bishop of Durham, sent two knights to see if the King really had returned, and to offer their castle to him. The King, however, refused to receive it, unless they would place themselves at his mercy without any exception; and accordingly they returned and told Robert de la Warr, the constable of the castle, and the rest of the garrison, the King's intentions. Upon this, after conferring with the Bishop of Durham, who had promised them safety to life and limb, they surrendered to him in the King's behalf, the Castle of Tickhill.

The garrison of the Castle of Nottingham, however, did not send any of their number to meet the King, who, being consequently much

exasperated, came to Nottingham on Friday, the day of the Annunciation of our Lord, with such a vast multitude of men and such a clangour of trumpets and clarions that those who were in the castles were astonished on hearing and seeing this, trembling came upon them, and they were confounded and alarmed. But still they would not believe that the King had come, and supposed the whole of this was done by the chiefs of the army for the purpose of deceiving them. The King, however, took up his quarters near to the castle, so that the archers from the castle trussed the King's men at his very feet. The King being incensed at this, put on his armour, and commanded his army to make an assault on the castle, on which a sharp engagement took place between them and the people in the castle, and many fell on both sides killed and wounded. The King himself slew one knight with an arrow, and having at last prevailed, drove them back into the castle, took some outworks which they had thrown up without the gates, and burned the outer gates.

On the 26th March, 1194, the King ordered his stone-engines to be put together, having come to the determination that he would not make another assault on the castle until his engines of war had been got in readiness; but he ordered gibbets to be erected near the castle. on which he hanged some men-at-arms of Earl John, who had been taken prisoners outside the castle. On the 27th, Hugh, Bishop of Durham, and those who had been with him at the siege of Tickhill, came to the King at Nottingham, bringing with them the prisoners who had been taken in the Castle of Tickhill, on which the King went forth to meet them. On seeing the King, the Bishop of Durham dismounted, and the King in like manner went to meet him and embraced him, after which, remounting their horses, they repaired to the siege. On the same day while the King was sitting at dinner, Ralph Murdac and William de Wendeval, constables of the Castle of Nottingham, sent two of their companions to see the King, who, after having seen him, returned to the castle to tell those who had sent them what they had heard and seen respecting the King and his preparations. When William de Wendeval and Roger de Montabum heard of this they went forth with twelve others from the castle, threw themselves upon the King's mercy, and returned to the castle no more.

Next day, the 28th, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph Murdac, Philip de Worcester, Ralph, his brother, and all the rest who were in the castle, surrendered the castle to the King, and threw themselves on the King's mercy for life and limb and worldly honour. On the 29th, Richard, King of England, went to see Clipston and the Forest of Sherwood, which he had never seen before, and they pleased him greatly; after which, on the same day, he returned to Nottingham. On Wednesday, 31st March, Richard, King of England, held the first day of his Council at Nottingham, where were present Queen Eleanor, the King's mother; Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who sat on the King's right hand; Geoffrey, Archbishop of York,

who sat on his left hand; Hugh, Bishop of Durham; Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln; William, Bishop of Ely, the King's Chancellor; William, Bishop of Hereford; Henry, Bishop of Worcester; Henry, Bishop of Exeter; John, Bishop of Whitherne; Earl David, brother of the King of Scotland; Hamline, Earl Warenne: Randolph, Earl of Chester; William, Earl of Ferrers; William, Earl of Salisbury; and Roger Bigot. On the same day the King dispossessed Gerard de Camville of the castle and shrievalty of Lincoln, and Hugh Bardolph of that of Yorkshire, of the Castles of York and Scarborough, and of the custodianship of Westmoreland, and set up all the offices before mentioned for sale. Accordingly, after the Chancellor had offered to give the King for the shrievalty of Yorkshire, that of Lincolnshire and that of Nottinghamshire, one thousand five hundred marks at the

ANCIENT TRAVELLING.—A MOORLAND ROAD.

beginning of the agreement, and every year an additional hundred marks for each of the said counties, Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, offered the King three thousand marks for the shrievalty of York, and every year an additional hundred marks; on which the Chancellor being outbid, the Archbishop obtained the shrievalty of York, and accordingly became a servant for the King and threw himself into the King's power.

On the 31st March the King held the second day of his Council, at which he demanded judgment to be pronounced against Earl John, his brother, who, against the fealty he had sworn to him, had taken possession of his castles, laid waste his lands on both sides of the sea,

and made a treaty against him with his enemy the King of France. Judgment was accordingly given that John had forfeited all rights in the kingdom. The Council sat a third day on Saturday, 1st April, when Gerard de Camville was arraigned for harbouring some robbers who had plundered the goods of certain merchants going to the fair of Stamford; and it was said they had set out from his residence for the purpose of committing the robbery, and having committed it returned to him. They also accused him of treason, because he had refused to come at the summons of the King's Justices, or take his trial for the aforesaid harbouring of the robbers, and for taking the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham. Camville denied all these charges, and gave pledges to defend himself by one of his freeholders. On the same day the King appointed the close of Easter as the day of his coronation at Winchester; he then proceeded to Clipston to meet the King of Scots, and gave orders that all who had been taken at the castles of Nottingham, Tickhill, Marlborough, Lancaster, and Mount St. Michael should meet him at Winchester on the day after the close of Easter. On the 3rd, Palm Sunday, the King of England stayed at Clipston, and the King of Scots at Worksop, on account of the solemnity of the day. On the 4th the two Kings came to Sewell (Southwell). On the 5th to Malton, where the King of Scotland demanded of the King of England the dignities and honours which his predecessors had enjoyed in England. He also demanded that the earldoms of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and the earldom of Lancaster should be given up to him, as enjoyed by his predecessors, to which the King answered that he would satisfy himself by the advice of his Earls and Barons.

The King was crowned at Winchester on the 18th April, 1194, and on the 19th Hugh, Bishop of Durham, of his own accord, no one compelling him to do so, gave up to the King the county of Northumberland, with its castles and other appurtenances; and the King ordered him to deliver the same to Hugh Bardolph. When William King of Scotland heard of this he immediately offered the King of England 15,000 marks of silver for Northumberland, with its appurtenances, saying that Earl Henry, his father, held it by the gift of King Henry II., and that after him, King Malcolm, his son, held it in peace for five years. Upon this the King of England, after taking counsel with his people, made answer to the King of Scotland that he would give him the whole of Northumberland, excepting the castles, for the said sum; but the King of Scotland declined to receive it without the castles. On the 20th the King of England caused the more wealthy persons to be separated from the rest of those taken prisoners in the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham, and the other castles of Earl John, and to be placed in prison to be ransomed; while the others he let go on their finding sureties that they would appear at his summons and abide by the judgment of his court; on which each of them found sureties for 100 marks if he should not return to the court of the King.

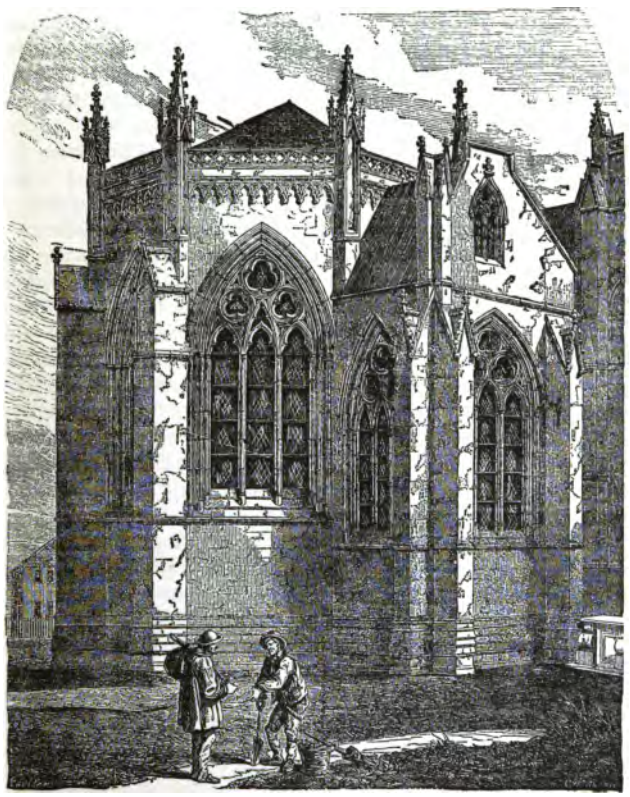
ROGER DE HOWEDEN.

SOUTHWELL MINSTER.

It so happens that many of our finest examples of English architecture are not easily to be got at,—such as Tewkesbury, Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell—all exquisite specimens, but all, more or less, difficult of access. To take Southwell for instance, a sort of pilgrimage must be undertaken. In the first place we have to leave the county of York and enter that of Nottingham, but in doing so we can hardly regard our pilgrimage as foreign to our county, Southwell Minster was always an adjunct of the Archbishops in York. It occupies the site of the church founded by our missionary Bishop Paulinus, and dates in its present state from 1109. The town was also the seat of a palace of the Archbishops of York now represented by the ruins of its chapel, and hall. Suppose the platform of the Great Northern Station at Newark reached: then there is that other station from whence you shall be conveyed to Southwell: in your anxiety to reach this, you hardly dare cast a look at the fine church, and the remains of the old castle. Useless speed! You will most probably find that you have to wait something like two hours for the next train; so there is nothing for it, but to walk back into Newark and make a closer acquaintance with the church—no bad alternative; seeing that it is one of the finest in England. After this, you reach the so-called Southwell station. Still, the place itself is two miles off; but a pleasant walk is no hardship, especially if the reward is to be so great, for Southwell Minster is really what Rickman describes it,—"a large and magnificent edifice,"—a cruciform structure 306½ feet from east to west and 122¼ feet along the transepts; combining Norman, Early English, and Early Decorated, all of the finest description. The north porch and some of the doors are excellent specimens of the former period: the choir and transepts, particularly the east end of the former, have Early English work, that can hardly be equalled; and there are some ornamental portions of a later character, such as the stalls and sedilia, of peculiar beauty: it is said that the latter were for a long time carefully cased up by heavy and unsightly woodwork, and that their existence was only discovered by one of the choir boys climbing to the top of the unsightly erection, and by his weight bringing it to the ground: the result would be looked upon with more pleasure if the visitor was not obliged to hear that the freak cost the boy his life.

But perhaps the most attractive part of the building is the chapter-house a specimen of Early Decorated work, upon which almost every form of ornament has been lavished in the most abundant profusion. Here, indeed, the forms are so peculiar and so elaborate, that nothing short of the most careful study would be of the slightest service. Although the room is small, a month might easily be spent there; and even then, only skilful fingers and the most untiring industry would produce any great result. While looking through one of the local guide-books, I met with the following sentence, taken from some old author,—"The minster is large and heavy, and of no particular

beauty." Now, Rickman says, "it deserves the study due to a cathedral;" and so far as my own observation goes, I am inclined to agree with the latter authority; but still I would advise all who can do so to judge for themselves, for the above few notes, together with the accompanying sketch of the Chapter-house from the north, are the only results of a hasty visit to Southwell Minster.



THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

THE CASTLE OF POMFRET.

"OUR HISTORIES," says Swift, "are full of Pomfret Castle;" and although this has long ceased to be the case, and Pomfret be now famous but for the cakes and the cultivation of the root employed in the soothing of catarrh and the adulteration of railway coffee, it was once a very famous, and is still a very interesting place. Whence came

the name of "Pontefract," and when and where its bridge was broken down, are questions over which antiquaries have long stumbled, seeing that the Aire, the only stream of the district needed to be traversed by a bridge, is two miles from the town and quite out its girth. It appears from Norman charters that the name of the place was Kirkby, a name, no doubt, bestowed upon it when church and hamlet were founded as a Christian settlement, in the old days when King Oswald of Northumbria embraced the new faith, an event probably commemorated by the cross which gave name to the wapentake still known as of Oswald's or Osgod's Cross. Kirkby, however, is not named in Domesday, though probably then a burgh. It is evidently included in the manor of Tateshall, or Tanshelf which belonged to the King, and appended to which was the soke of Manesthorp, Barnebi, and Silchestone. Tateshall formed, and still forms, a part of the town of Pontefract. No doubt this is the "Taddenes Scylf," where in 947, King Eadred received the fealty of Archbishop Wulfstan and the Northumbrian Witan, with their speedy breach of it, as recorded in theAnglo-Saxon chronicle. The place must even then have been of importance, and there can be but little doubt that the Witan met on the site of the later castle. It continued to be an important place, for at the Conquest it was a demesne of the Crown, and is recorded in Domesday as rated at 20*l*, having three mills, and containing a hospital for the poor. Domesday, no doubt, means Pontefract Castle, when it records that, "*Omnis tornour sedet infra metam castelli Ilberti secundum primam mensuram, et secundum novissimam mensuram sedet extra.*" *Meta* is here clearly the castle garth or boundary of its immediate lands, not the military *enceinte* or curtain about the position, with respect to which no measurement could be in error, nor is it the Castelry, which was a much larger area.

The parish of Pomfret, which is large, is composed of six townships, of which one is Pomfret proper. The parish is one of twenty composing the wapentake or hundred. Leland calls the fortress "Snorre-Castle." Confer Knaresburg, Cnorres-burg, the tribe's-burg, people's-burg—as opposed to the Pundeburg (Boroughbridge). This double association between Pundeburg and Pundefreit, Snorre's Castle and Cnorres-burg has a latent but very expressive meaning. Leland says that before the Conquest it belonged to Richard Aschenald, and then to Ailric, Sweine, and Adam, his son, grandson, and great-grandson. This last had two daughters, married to Alex. de Crevequer and Adam de Montbegon. Dodsworth calls Aschenald, Aske, still a great Yorkshire name, and points out, what indeed is very evident, that the Norman works stood in part on an artificial hill, on which no doubt stood the house of the English lord, dispossessed by the Conqueror. Ailric is a real person, and a Domesday land-owner, who before the Conquest held many manors. Sweine, his son, inherited and gave a church and chapel to the monks of St. John the Evangelist. Ailric held his lands, much reduced, under the Norman grantee, as did Sweine, and Adam Fitz

Sweine, who founded Bretton Priory, and died about 1158, having been a very considerable person. Charters by both Sweine and Adam are found in the Pomfret cartulary.

William I. was at Castleford on the Aire in the winter of 1069, and as he stayed there three weeks he probably found the means of inspecting so strong a place as the English House at Kirkby, and when he granted the district to Ilbert de Lacy it may reasonably be supposed that he followed his usual practice of directing a castle to be there built. Mr. Freeman suggests that the name of "Pontefract" may have arisen from some incident connected with this passage of the Aire; others have thought that, like Richmond and Montgomery, it was an imported name. Ordericus, however, as Mr. Freeman remarks, refers to it as *Fractus-Pons*, not *Pons-Fractus*, "*Rex . . præpeditur ad fracti pontis vada*," as though the words were in a state of transition from a description to a proper name. The word "Pontefract" as a name should now be abandoned as wholly untenable, in the sense of antiquity. It appears to be nothing but the mere coinage of some scribe who could not convert the old English name of Pundefreit or Pumfreit, into Latin. It can be proved that in the twelfth century the spoken name of the town was Pumfreit, and when vernacularly recorded it is so written on some occasions, and on others it is written Pundefreit, or Pundefrid. King John called it Pumfreit and his book-keepers so wrote it. That it has been written Pons Fractus (in its declensions) is about as indicative of its real name, as that Pons Burgi was the spoken therefore real name of Borobridge, which by the way King John's book-keepers chose to write Pundeburg. As to Pomfret the "Broken-Bridge" theory is completely exploded; as to Pundeburg it was never applied, and yet the "Pons" of the mediæval scribe has to do duty in both places. Burgh or Borough was the old name of Borobridge—even Drayton so uses it—and the terminal *bridge* seems to be due to the "Pons" of the latinist.

The change of name certainly was adopted slowly, for while an early charter by Robert de Lacy, the second lord, has the passage, "de dominio suo de Kirkbi," a later one has "Deo et Sti Johanni et Monachis meis de Pontefract," while Hugh de Lanval, the intrusive lord, as late as 1120, employs the older name. Camden derives the name from a breaking down of a bridge or causeway that traversed the marshy valley still called the Wash, the springs of which rise close N.W. of the castle and cross its approach from Knottingley, at Bubwith Houses, where, in the time of Edward II., John Bubwith held lands *juxta veterem pontem de Pontefract*, about a quarter of a mile from the castle, which, indeed, proves the existence of a bridge, though not of a broken one. How water came to be here collected will be explained when the defences of the castle are treated of. It would seem that at Pomfret as at many inland castles, a dam was thrown across a valley below the place, and thus provision made for defence and for the working of a mill. This seems to have been the case here below the northern front. The valley was converted into a lake, employed to feed two

mills, of one of which traces remained in 1806, and the other, the lower mill, was removed in 1766, when the dam was levelled and the pool converted into a meadow. Bubwith Bridge no doubt crossed the pool at what is still called "the Wash." A few marks of Roman occupation have been discovered here, and but few. Legeolium, the station of the district, seems to have been at Castleford, three miles distant.

But whatever may have been the origin of the fortress, or of its evidently pre-Norman earthworks, its recorded history commences with Ilbert de Lacy, to whom William granted Knottingley, a large portion of the wapentake, and other lands, including about 150 manors, chiefly in the West Riding,—where they fill seven pages of Domesday-book,—Nottingham and Lincoln. Those in Yorkshire were erected into an Honour, of which Pomfret, the strongest and most important place, became naturally the chief seat. Ilbert, though no doubt of near kin to the Herefordshire Lord of Ewyas and Holm-Lacy, was a different person. He is thought to have built Pomfret Castle before 1080, commencing it probably in consequence of the visit of the Conqueror, in 1069. If Sir H. Ellis be right, and it be alluded to by the Domesday entry, "*Omnis tornour sedet infra metam castelli Ilberti*," it was speedily completed. Ilbert also endowed the chapel of St. Clement within the castle, which, in some form or other, long survived. He lived into the reign of Rufus, from whom he had a confirmation of his grants. By his wife, Hawise, he left Robert and Hugh.

Robert de Lacy, called from his birthplace, "of Pomfret" claims to have built Clitheroe, which has, indeed, been attributed to the second son. He also had a confirmation from Rufus. By Maud, his wife, he had Ilbert, who, with his father, on the death of Rufus, joined Curthose against Henry I., and fought at Tenchbrai. Both were banished, and Robert was disseized of Pomfret in favour of William Transversus, and then of Hugh de la Val, who held it to the reign of Stephen. Robert finally regained the honour, but King Henry claimed 2,000 marcs, and De la Val had 150*l.* for the demesne lands, and 20 knights' fees, which are entered in the Liber Niger in 1165 as held "de veteri feodo Pontisfracti." Robert confirmed some of De la Val's grants to Nostel, and founded the Clunaic Priory of Pomfret.

Looking at the general evidence afforded by the remains of this castle, it is clear that it was a strong place in pre-Norman times; those who fortified it placing the mound, at what was naturally the weakest point of the position. The greater part of the remaining masonry is Norman, and not improbably early. The *enceinte* wall, the buildings connected with it on the west platform, the rear wall of the platform, the old postern, the interior of the keep, and the magazine, all seem to be in substance Norman. Of the Early English and Decorated kinds very slight traces are left visible; but it is clear that under the house of Lancaster much was added in the Perpendicular period. Probably the buildings on the north-east platform were constructed, S. Clement's

chapel was rebuilt; Swillington Tower added, the keep refaced and much done in repairing the chambers within. Ruined as the place is, and reduced to a mere garden of liquorice enough remains to interest very deeply those who are conversant with our ancient military structures, and especially such of them as are of Saxon or English foundation, and have been recast to suit the Norman fashions of defence.

The position and dimensions of the castle were worthy of the great barons by whom it was constructed, and far too noble for the events with which its name is associated. North-east of, and one-third of a mile from, the market-cross of Pomfret, there is seen a very remarkable table of rock, oval in form, the sides of which are in part a cliff of from

INTERIOR OF NORMAN CASTLE [RESTORED], FROM *The Builder.*

"In his chamber, weak and dying,
Was the Norman baron lying."

30 ft. to 40 ft. high, rising out of a talus, which, on the north, south, and eastern faces, descends into two deep natural valleys, which unite on the north-eastern front. At the south-west end is also a natural depression dividing the rock from the town; it has been deepened somewhat by art, as the cliff has been scarped and, where necessary, revetted, so that the general result was the production of an almost impregnable stronghold. This description, however, requires, as regards the east front, some little

modification. Here, immediately beyond the wall, is a ditch nearly all artificial, and beyond it a nearly level area, beyond which, again, is the natural valley. As it was necessary to cover the ground, it was walled and converted into what was called the barbican, really a double ward outside the castle, covering its main entrance. The castle was thus composed of the main ward, occupying the table-rock, and the outer and inner barbicans covering its south-east front and entrance. The main ward occupies the whole summit of the rock. It is in plan an irregular oval, 150 yards north-east and south-west, and 103 yards in its cross diameter. Of this area a segment at the south-west end, 37 yards deep, or on the "sagitta," is occupied by a raised platform containing the keep and remains of various buildings. A smaller segment at the north-east end is occupied by the bases of other buildings, including the chapel. If the arrangement be likened to the deck of a ship, the keep end will be the poop, the other end the forecastle, and the large intermediate space the waist.

The present appearance of the north eastern platform is a bank of earth, irregular, and about 20 ft. above the area level. In plan it is rather semilunar, and evidently composed of the basements and ruins of buildings, the soft red sandstone of which readily becomes converted into soil. The face towards the ward, standing from 2 ft. to 6 feet high, shows the base mouldings and plinth of a range of buildings that rose from the main ward level, and seem to have included a polygonal tower or turret. All that is visible is of excellent ashlar, with stones of large size. The workmanship is mainly in the Perpendicular style. In the rear, along the edge of a cliff, is the curtain-wall, part of which is a revetment filling up the irregularities of the rock. This platform is returned a few yards along the east front against the curtain, and there is seen the basement of St. Clement's Chapel, more than once rebuilt since its first Norman foundation The curtain along the crest, where the cliff is high, seems to have been a mere parapet. On the north-east point, where there is only a slope, the curtain is very lofty, and of prodigious thickness; much is broken away, but what remains shows it to have been 15 ft. thick at its base and 11 ft. at 24 ft. high. The main gate was in this curtain near the south end. It seems, from the drawings, to have been covered by a small square tower, the exterior and interior portals not being opposite.

The main interest of the castle attaches to its south-western platform. This is about 20 ft. above the main ward, and at its southern angle there is raised upon it a conical mound, flat-topped, and rising about as high again. Towards the main ward this platform is supported by a revetment wall from 12 ft to 14 ft. high, of good rough ashlar, of large stones, having a base of 4 ft., and above this a plinth of about 4 ft. more, the two offsets being plain chamfers. This, no doubt, carried a curtain-wall. In the wall, near its centre, is a broad-arched recess, called "the King's seat," probably from a tradition that Richard II. sat there.

At the north end the platform is returned about 25 yards along the west curtain. Various indications show that this platform was covered with buildings, most of which, like the retaining wall, were of Norman date, and of which the basements remain, though much covered up. Of the *enceinte* or curtain-wall that supports the outer face of this platform only the lower 30 ft., or revetment, remains. This commences some way down the slope, and is prodigiously strong, being built against the rock. At the south-west angle was the Treasurer's or Pix Tower, the ruins of which still encumber the slope. Passing southward, the wall rises and becomes more perfect. In its exterior base, about 30 ft. below the rampart, is a Norman postern, very perfect, and probably in the base of the old Red Tower. Then, behind, and on the level with the top of the wall, are remains of early buildings. One presents the end of a round-headed vault of about 16 ft. span, of rude rubble, but springing from good ashlar walls, and having a later-inserted window. This is called "King Richard's Prison." Near this is a rectangular shaft, 8 ft. by 4 ft., but a few feet down increased to 8 ft. square, a round-headed arch supporting the upper half. It is now about 40 ft. deep, and dry. It is called a well, but is more probably the shaft of a garderobe.

Beyond this rises the mound, the top of which is circular, and about 20 yards across, and 40 ft. to 50 ft. above the main ward, and much more above the exterior base of the *enceinte* of which it forms a part. Those who formed the mound no doubt gave it a natural slope all round, and placed their structure on its top, and, making it a part of their line of defence, carried the general palisade to its summit from either side. The Normans, on taking possession, proceeded in a different way. The soft rock, forming the core of the mound, on the outer sides, they cut into the figure of a three-quarter round mural tower, and then faced it with a very solid wall, so that though really a solid bastion, it had all the appearance of a magnificent round tower, 70 ft. diameter. When this segmental bastion had been carried to a height of 50 ft. or 60 ft., that is to the level of the top of the mound, the wall was continued round, and the cylinder completed, so that the mound was crowned by a regular shell keep of 60 ft. diameter, and probably 25 ft. high, which was really, what its substructure only seemed to be,—a tower of masonry. As the rock was of irregular figure, this process was repeated, a second smaller bastion was formed to the north, and probably a third. Leland speaks of the donjon as composed of three large and three small roundlets. However, only two now remain. These grand bastions still form the finest part of the castle, standing as they do high above the road from the railway station into the town, upon the crest of a steep slope. They are faced with large blocks of sandstone, of excellent open jointed ashlar work. with a bold set-off at the base. Advantage was taken of the soft character of the rock to excavate the interior into cells and staircases, some of which are still open. In the large bastion, near a covering angle, at its exterior base, a

shoulder-headed doorway, a postern, opens into a round-headed passage, partly cut in the rock, and partly vaulted. From this one way leads into a mural chamber; another up a steep flight of steps, cut in the rock, but having a series of shoulder-headed hanging arches to support the roof. At a height of 30 ft. this stair leads to an open gallery above, commanding the postern, and from this again ascends, covered, to the base of the keep proper. Boothroyd gives three other excavations, one of which contained the well mentioned by Leland. Besides these the remaining fragments of the keep proper contained the base of a well-stair, probably ascending to the battlements, and a shaft, perhaps from a garderobe about that level.

The main entrance to the castle was a few yards east of the keep in the south curtain. From the gate a narrow stair ran up the curtain into the keep, and is yet seen. Another, on the other side, still descends from the keep towards King Richard's prison. From the keep a spur wall descends the slope, and was intended to cover the approach, as at Hawarden and Coningsborough. It evidently crossed the ditch, and formed part of the barbican. Thus the keep could be reached rapidly and directly by three ways, all narrow and well defended, one from the outside by a postern, another from the main gate, and a third from the west ramparts. In substance the masonry and arrangement of this keep are clearly Norman, but the whole has been refitted, and no doubt refaced in the Perpendicular period. Mention must be made of a very curious and early excavation in the main ward. On the surface, a few feet from the king's seat, a flight of rock-cut steps descends nearly north-west and at 70 ft. distance is the mouth of a square shaft, lighting a passage below. Descending, thirty-three steps lead steeply down a passage, 4 ft. broad, with a hanging roof. A little way down, on the right, are traces of a cylindrical staircase, no doubt the original way in, but now destroyed with the tower, in the base of which it may have been. At the foot of the stairs is a plain round-headed door-case, apparently of Late Norman date. Beyond this the stairs re-commence, and ten steps lower the descent ceases and the passage forks, a short branch running north, and one, a trifle longer, east. Before the fork, part of the passage is vaulted in fine-jointed ashlar, with two plain round-headed ribs. In the wall, on the right, is a round-headed recess for a lamp, and the commencement of another passage, also round-headed, but left as a mere recess. Above the fork opens the shaft, here seen to be a truncated pyramid, about 6 ft. by 12 ft., and 30 ft. deep. At the fork the salient is occupied by two small oblong cells, with pointed roofs. They communicate with each other and passages by narrow lancet doorways. The excavation is now called the magazine, and may have been so used at the siege; but it is of Norman and Early English date, and probably was intended for a cellar. The arrangements of the cells are scarcely suitable for a prison. The present entrance is clearly an addition.

There remain some exterior points to be noticed. Leaving the keep by its postern, and going north-west along the foot of the west face, the wall is seen evidently to be Norman, and near the centre of this front is the original Norman postern. There are upon the face of the wall two broad shallow pilaster strips, 8 ft. broad by 6 in. projection, between which is a plain roundheaded relieving arch, and below is a segmental-headed doorway, of 4 ft. opening, without portcullis but with a rebate for a door, and holes for two stout bars. This opens into a straight vaulted passage, about 5 ft. broad, lofty, round-headed, of excellent ashlar, and clearly Norman. It runs about 15 ft., and is then choked up. It no doubt ends in a well-stair, which might readily be excavated. In later, probably Perpendicular times, this postern has been disused, the door converted into a loop, and blocked with the usual window-steps within. Following the base of the cliff along the north front, it is seen to have been carefully made good with masonry; and at the north-west angle, under what was the Queen's Tower, a large rift in the rock has been lined with ashlar, and spanned by a round-headed arch in good masonry. It looks like a large cavalry postern, but is merely a recess. At the foot of the talus on the west front, and about 180 yards outside the wall, are the remains of Swillington Tower, an outwork built by Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and in which he is said to have been imprisoned. About half of the basement remains. The tower was 46 ft. square, with walls 10 ft. 6 in. thick. It was intended to command the approach from the north, and was of great use during the siege as a flanking defence. Doubtless a double wall connected it with the main ward; but of this there is no trace.

Nearly all the traces of the Barbican are gone, but its memory and site are preserved in Barbican House, Row, and Garden, and there remains a fragment, probably of the lower gate, between Ass Hill and the Castle chain. There were two approaches, one from the town and one from the great church, which met in the outer ward of the Barbican. In front of the north entrance there still remains a good but late Tudor House, into the front of which has been inserted a grand old stone heater shield, bearing the three lions of England and a label of three points, carved in bold relief, a relic probably of the royal occupation of the castle. The style of the shield is Early, and the blazon points to the eldest son of a king of England before Edward III. introduced the lilies of France.

Boothroyd's birds-eye view gives a general notion of the castle before it was destroyed. There were eight mural towers,—the Keep, the Red Tower, the Treasurer's, or Pix Tower, Swillington Tower in advance of the wall, the Queen's Tower, the King's Tower, Constable's Tower, and the Gate-house. All, save the keep, were rectangular, perhaps Norman. Of these only the keep and the ruins of the Pix Tower are traceable: the rest, with the great hall, kitchens, and lodgings, were carefully removed by the Parliamentary contractor, though probably a few pounds spent in excavation would still show the basements, and establish a general plan. G. T. CLARKE, F.S.A.

From *The Builder*.

As a close coincidence with Pomfret, and a further illustration of the Old English method of providing for the rites of Christianity when adopted by them, apart from but still protected by their military stations, I here add a notice of

KIRBY-HILL CHURCH, BOROUGHBRIDGE.

Kirby-Hill Church was re-opened for divine service in May, 1870. A short time before, in consequence of the dilapidated condition of the church, the opinion of Mr. Gilbert Scott was obtained. His plans were adopted, and the contract for carrying out the restoration entered into. Owing to limited funds, the original contract did not embrace all the restoration necessary to complete the church in its integrity, but this has since been done. The church is of great antiquity, and many remains of carved crosses and other stones, evidently of Saxon origin, have been found during the progress of the works. The south porch doorway is Norman, but the remains of two former doorways still exist beside the present one, some arch-stones remaining of one, and the jamb and carved impost of another. The Norman arcade dividing the nave from the north aisle has been restored. Some mural painting discovered upon the arches has been preserved. This arcade, also, from the appearance of the stones, is an insertion in a Saxon wall. The north aisle has been entirely rebuilt. In pulling down the walls of the former aisle, a fragment of tracery was found belonging to an ancient Decorated window. The design was traced, and has been carried out in the new windows. The whole of the seats in the church are now of oak, made from the original design, with carved poppy-heads finials, and the ancient seats found in the church have been re-used. The main features of this church now present a similar appearance to what they did centuries ago.

KIRBY-MOORSIDE CASTLE.

The erection of this Castle by Robert de Stuteville son of one of the Conqueror's Lieutenants, may be referred to the reign of Henry I., 1100—1135, The site has not been explored, and I therefore cannot give full particulars. There are, however, the usual features of the adoption of a previous stronghold. On Spaunton Moor, hard by, there are tumuli; on the site of the nunnery of Keldholme British weapons have been found, and within half a mile of the military station there is the Kirk-by which indicates the foundation consequent upon the introduction of Christianity.

CELTIC AND NORMAN.

DOWKERBOTTOM CAVE.

UPPER Wharfedale, abounding in limestone rocks, has several interesting caves which are little known and seldom visited, and not the least interesting of these is Dowkerbottom Cave, about twelve miles from Skipton, on the hill top between Kilnsley and Hawkswick.‡ The tourist will not easily find it without careful directions or a guide, for it is hid away in one of the flats near the hill top, and cannot be detected till you are close upon it, as the entrance is from the level. At the present time, the best landmark to it is the heap of clay and gravel which the last party of explorers hauled up and left within a few feet of the mouth.

The present mouth of the cave is very remarkable, a fall of rock and earth having divided the cave into two portions, while the true mouth has been discovered some yards away to the west. The descent into the cave is very precipitous for about 30ft., but when you reach the floor you soon see traces of the last working party, Mr. E. B. Poulton, M.A., F.G.S., of Oxford, assisted by some ten or twelve undergraduates from the Colleges, who spent the long vacation of August and September, 1881, in searching for relics of former inhabitants. These gentlemen obtained the services of two experienced miners from Grassington, and must have gone to considerable expense in planks, poles, barrows, and tackling, much of which is still under ground, as though it was intended to return at some future day and continue the researches. The party lodged at the pretty village of Hawkswick, about a mile away in the valley, and it is understood that they returned to their college duties at the expiration of their holiday with a stock of health and energy certainly not less, and probably more, than if the they had rusticated at the seaside

‡ What have we in these two names, Dow-ker-bottom and Hawks-wick? Has the former been the "Dove-carr," and the latter the "Hawks-station" or village? Are both the figurative or satirical appellations of some Dano-Anglian or Celtic neighbours and possibly enemies of the olden time?—A record in fact of some border struggle between the settled "Doves" and the invading "Hawks." Confer Dewsbury—*vulgo* Dowesbury—and Ravensthorpe.

Mr. Poulton read an interesting paper on their discoveries at the meeting of the British Association held at York in 1881, but as that paper was not published, the following extracts and digest have been taken from the report of the Yorkshire Geological Association, to which that gentleman read a paper on the same subject in the same year. He first alluded to explorations conducted by Mr. Jackson, of Settle; Mr. Farrar, of Ingleborough House; and the late Mr. Denny, of Leeds; who, although not conducting their work so systematically or thoroughly, found undoubted evidence of the cave having been occupied by Romano-British inhabitants. A coin of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 131, and one of Trajan, A D. 98, were found at different periods, as also flint instruments, broken Samian ware, portions of human skeletons, bones of various animals, such as red-deer, Irish deer, roebuck, wild boar, ox, and primitive dog. The most interesting specimen was a nearly perfect skeleton of a gigantic red-deer, with antlers of great beauty, which was found by Mr. Farrer, at a depth of about two yards below the floor, lying on a bed of hard stalagmite. Mr. Farrer, in a paper read before the Yorkshire Geological Association in 1865, considered that the deer, from its great size, could not have entered at the present mouth, but most probably crept in by the original entrance, and lay down to die. There was also found a portion of the horn of the megaceros (Irish deer), a large ruminant contemporary with the mammoth and rhinoceros. This represents a pretty considerable lapse of time since these creatures walked the earth, for the mammoth and rhinoceros are inhabitants of the torrid zone; we may therefore consider that this island was then joined to the mainland of Europe, and of the same temperature as Central Africa.

Mr. Poulton found the eastern division of this cave 463 feet in length, composed of three chambers, varying in height, until at the end of the last chamber, the roof gradually approached the floor, ending in a pool of water some three feet deep, the walls uniting just beyond the pool in rocks of irregular, step-like shape. The whole of the floor was covered with stiff clay, and strewn with limestone blocks which had fallen from the roof. There were marks on the walls indicating that at no very distant date the pool of water had been 12 feet deep, while the clay bottom showed that the fine sediment had slowly filtered through the fissures of the rock, and deposited itself in the waters of the pool in which there was no current. Nothing was found in the first chamber, which had previously been well worked, but the second chamber had been very little disturbed, and to this the party directed their attention. A shaft was sunk in the centre of this chamber, and numerous relics were found, such as broken pottery, bones, metal implements, and half of a broken spindle whorl of Samian ware. Very many rubbed and cut bones were found, which probably had been used as knife handles, and the bowl end of a spoon-shaped fibula, pierced by a central hole, and ornamented with circles having dots in their centres. These ancient cave-dwellers had evidently done their best to make their home comfortable, for charcoal was found among the *débris*, with pot boiler stones

of micaceous sandstone, as also a slab of sandstone used for baking cakes. The western side, which is much smaller, was also explored, but nothing was found there to indicate the presence of man beyond the first chamber, though there were many bones among the *débris* which bore indications of having been washed in. Altogether it can hardly be said that this latter party of explorers found much to encourage them in the further prosecution of their work, though they certainly cleared up several disputed points and corrected some erroneous opinions which had been formed as to the condition and history of the cave. Mr. Poulter proved conclusively that the supposed floor was in most places the accumulation of fallen masses from the roof and clay which had been washed in, and he quite believed the true floor would be found many feet below, and possibly containing specimens of the older fauna found in such abundance in the Victoria Cave. He also found the true mouth of the cave; but as he saw no traces of the human occupants beyond the first chamber on the western side, he concluded that they had used the present entrance. He considered also that much more yet remained to be discovered, and expressed the hope that he might continue his investigations in the following year; a hope, however, which has not been realised.

The tourist and cave-hunter would find himself well repaid by an excursion to this most ancient dwelling; but let him not attempt to explore its dark and mysterious passages alone, as, although provided with a candle, misgivings are apt to arise as to what would happen in the event of a sprained ankle or broken limb. Nothing more awesome can well be conceived than the loneliness of these tomb-like chambers, where no sound is heard but the occasional drip of the water from the roof and your own suppressed breathing. There is a strong mephitic smell of decomposing carbonate of lime, and your light in the larger chambers does little more than make the darkness more horrible. But companion or no companion, you return to daylight and the upper world with a joyous sense of relief and a feeling as though you were entering a conservatory from the chill air of a November morning. These cave-dwellers, though they paid no rents or rates, must have had an uncomfortable time of it, for a place more conducive to rheumatism and colds could not well be found; neither can they have been men of a high order; most probably they were hunters, subsisting on the fish and animals which would be abundant in the valleys below.

There are two other very interesting caves in the locality which the tourist will be well repaid for visiting; one at Arncliffe, about three miles farther up Litton Dale, and the other above Kettlewell, on the road to Coverdale; but these do not come within the scope of the present paper. It will be a fit conclusion to this description of an ancient cave-dwelling to say that there are more unpleasant and unprofitable ways of spending the inside of a fortnight than in exploring the hills and valleys of Upper Wharfedale, where the tourist, the fisherman, the geologist, the botanist, or the antiquary may each indulge their congenial taste.

Leeds. (From *L. M. Weekly Supplement.*) J. LATCHMORE.

KIRKDALE CAVE.

Kirkdale Cave, which is situated midway between Kirbymoorside and Nawton, has for more than half a century attracted the attention of the curious. The village also is as celebrated for its solitary church—the origin of its name—as for its famous cavern, the grave of numerous troops of hyænas and other animals of geological fame. The little church, standing in the depth of the dale, by the side of a mountain stream, and overshadowed with woods, contains a priceless gem for the archæologist—a sundial which states of itself that it was constructed by Haward and Brand the priest in the days of Earl Tosti and King Edward the Confessor.* Mr. Martin visited the spot in the summer of 1877, and made a few notes, from which he extracts the following:—"At a distance of about two miles westward of Kirbymoorside, a narrow lane, flanked by high hedges, leads the traveller into Kirkdale. The road is crossed by an open stream, spanned by a narrow wooden bridge. Before crossing the stream, an opening of some two or three yards in the hedgerow, on the northern side of the road, suddenly revealed an excavation. To turn aside and inspect the quarry was but the occupation of a moment, and as nothing extraordinary appeared in sight I was about to proceed, when, looking towards the limestone rock, which rises to a considerable height, on the eastern side, my attention way attracted to two large apertures; one of these would be about three feet square, the other about three feet by five feet, their height from the base of the quarry about four yards. A glance at my guide-book informed me that this was the far-famed Kirkdale Cave.

This cave was discovered in 1821 by some quarrymen who were engaged in baring the rock. Whilst removing a quantity of shale, they

* The church at Kirkdale, near Helmsley, has a very ancient sun-dial, with Saxon inscriptions, on a stone over its south door. The inscription of the Kirkdale sun-dial is the longest extant of the Anglo-Saxon period, and a most valuable example of the pure English of the eleventh century. The following is a literal translation:—"Orm, Gamal's son, bought St. Gregory's Church, when it was all broken down and fallen; and he caused it to be made new from the ground, to Christ and St. Gregory, in Edward's days the King, and in Tosti's days the Earl; and Haward me made and Brand the priests;" from which it is supposed to have been made about the year 1060 as Tosti, here mentioned, fourth son of Godwin, Earl of Kent, and brother to King Harold, was created Earl of Northumberland by Edward the Confessor in 1056. At the west end of the church there has been found a highly ornamented tombstone with Runic characters, which is thought to be of the time of the sixth or seventh century. The Kirkdale dial is also inscribed, in old English—"This is the day's sun-marker at each tide." There are seven lines, with eight equal spaces of day-time; the primary lines being distinguished by cross-bars. The secondary lines of division are much shorter than the primary, and the E.S.E. line has a peculiar mark of its own. These give greater variety to the design, and convince one that this example is later than that at Edstone; for had it been earlier, the Edstone artist could not have been ignorant of what had been done at so short a distance from his own parish, and would not have failed to copy what are certainly great improvements. For a diagram of the above, with the original inscriptions, see the learned paper by the late Rev. D. H. Haigh, formerly of Leeds, in the *Yorkshire Archæolog. Journal*, vol. v., p. 149, &c.

struck upon the entrance, and soon the mouth of the cave was disclosed, stored with a vast variety of bones. Dr. Buckland made an exploration soon after its discovery; and gave the length as about 100 yards; he also found the remains of about 300 hyænas and twenty other different animals, including the tiger, bear, wolf, elephant, hippopotamus, ox, and rhinoceros. It was after the discovery and exploration of the cave that Dr. Buckland wrote his "Reliquae Diluvianae"—a work in which he endeavours to prove the universality of the Noachian deluge, and signifies that the beasts of the field in the hour of peril resorted hither as a place of common safety, with, of course, the most disastrous result.

It was impossible to inspect this ossiferous cavern, where the relics of so many extinct species of animals have been preserved, without being carried backward by a transcendent sweep of thought to those early pre-historic epochs of our island, respecting which we know so little, but upon which, thanks to the researches of modern science, we are gradually gaining clearer light, when, amid dreary caves and gloomy forests, the savage wild beasts had their lair, and, issuing forth in quest of prey, were wont to prowl at large, unmolested, unrestrained, no human hunter ever near to dispute the freedom of their forest range. Before the adventurous voyagers from Gallic shores had landed on our coasts; in the remote past, among primeval woods and marshes, when the huge hippopotamus disported in our rivers, and the elephant trampled through wood and brake; when Whitestonecliffe was washed by the dashing of the deluge, and the vale of Pickering was a turbulent lake; or probably at an era more obscure and distant still, in those far-off recondite geological periods ere the glacial phenomenon of Northern Europe had locked the land for ages in halls and castles of ice, when Britain was still joined to the mainland, and the Thames and the Humber were but tributaries of the Rhine, and the wild boar had its lair in what is now the bed of the German Ocean—at such a period and so remote, even then it may have been, that the fiercest of the forest brood, the dread hyæna, gorged and growled in Kirkdale cave.

THE GIPSY SPRINGS, YORKSHIRE.

There are on the Chalk Wolds of Yorkshire a number of remarkable springs bearing this name, and if not strictly ebbing and flowing wells, as those at Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, they approach to them in their character of being intermittent. These springs are of great volume, and extend over a district of several miles, and water the dale towns above Driffield, passing through Wold Newton, Rudston, Thorpe, and Boynton, and finally discharging themselves into the sea at Bridlington Quay. Although they supply several mills in their course, they entirely disappear in summer, and suddenly and in great volume reappear in autumn, and the stream is called by the villagers the Gipsy Race, from its sudden rise and rapid flow.

Some years ago a railway tunnel was cut through the Chalk Wolds for the Malton and Driffield Railway, and it was supposed to have diverted the source of these springs which have considerably diminished of late, and caused much inconvenience and drought on the estates through which these waters used to flow, more especially to that of Mr. Wentworth Bosville, of Thorpe Hall, whose ornamental waters, of over 10,000,000 gallons, were entirely dependent on these springs for their supply. It was thought desirable to have the district surveyed by an engineer, to see if it were possible to regain the springs by making an outlet for them on a lower level. This has been done by Mr. J. F. Fairbank, and, we are told, a supply equal to 1,000,000 gallons per week has been obtained at Rudston, to the great satisfaction of farmers and others in the neighbourhood, who suffer much during the summer season from drought in the parched-up chalk districts.

DISCOVERIES IN KILDALE CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.

In the course of the works executed here in 1867, just within the line of the north wall of the church, a series of interments, laid east and west, with the head of one near the feet of the next, were found to the number of seven or eight; and with them a number of weapons of iron and articles of bronze. Among the former were three swords, an axe, three or four daggers (presumably: from the state of corrosion it is hard to say decisively that one at least is not a spear or javelin-head), a knife in a bone handle, portions apparently of spurs, &c. Among the last is a pair of tweezers, a curious object consisting of two legs, each 2 in. long, set square in the ends of a cross-bar (about half the length of the legs), and terminating each of them in movable rings, not unlikely a means of suspension for some object or objects unknown; the remains of two hemispherical bowls of thin metal, about 2½ in. in diameter at the mouth, and perforated with four small holes near the rim, which probably or certainly formed parts of a balance. A plug of lead was also met with, which, from the green metallic matter about it, seemed to have come from a bronze or bronze-lined socket; and a shield-shaped and decorated plate of bronze, which may have been the shape of a sword or dagger-sheath. A small wooden frame was also found, and a movable panel, inclosing a small plate of lead, about the thickness of half-a-crown, and ¾ in. by 1 in. in dimensions. The church was dedicated to St. Cuthbert.

A writer in the *Yorkshire Gazette* considers,—the axe-head, and one at least of the swords, are so characteristic that they belong to the period of the Danish occupation of Cleveland. The dispossessed owners of Kildale, named in Domesday, were Orme and Ligulf; and there can be no reasonable doubt that they were heirs—at least successors—to others whose nationality was as distinctly declared by their names, as in the case not only of these two, but in that of twenty-one more out of the twenty-seven owners in Cleveland specified in the Domesday Book. It

is scarcely a mere surmise that some of the earlier of these settlers—perhaps not quite the earliest—might be buried within the limits of a Christian edifice and yet not without the accustomed weapons of their heathen fore-elders. The swords lay with the blade obliquely across the bones of the leg, the hilt at the right hip. The axe lay on the insteps of its one-time owner, so that its helve must have reached up to or towards his right hand. One or two skulls found with them were so unusual in their form as to lead to the suggestion that they may have been those of the Danish lord's slaves or thralls from the far north, or even remoter regions. The dale owes its name, Kildale—a corruption of Ketel-dale—to a Danish proprietor, Ketel being a northern personal name.

THE DISCOVERY OF A ROMAN ENCAMPMENT AT GRASSINGTON.

A few notes on the discovery by me of a vast Roman encampment at Grassington, in Upper Wharfedale, have awakened considerable interest among archæologists in all parts of the country. Grassington is nine miles north of Skipton. It is a very ancient market town, whose commercial beginnings are now obscured in the dimness of the past, it may however be assumed that they reach directly into the history of *Olicana* and the Romano-British days. The name of the place has, I now believe, a different etymology than all previous authorities have supposed. Dr. Whitaker in his "History of Craven," referring to the fertility of the neighbourhood, thinks Grassington may mean "the town of Grassy Ings," but that it was probably, as also was "Gargrave," from "Garri," a Saxon personal name. In a foot note, however, he says, "Still I hesitate about this etymology." The researches of later scholars have removed all doubts as to the origin and meaning of the name, Grassington—or as it is written in the days of the Plantagenets Gersington, and still locally so pronounced—was a Saxon clan-station as the medial syllable *ing*, of its name certainly indicates. The compound word may be taken to mean the station of the tribe of Ger, Gar or Garri, who would be one of the leaders of the invaders, pushed forward from Ilkley to occupy and subdue a place formerly held under Roman control. In the light of the British and Roman remains of forts and intrenchments now known to exist in great perfection in the township, and the name by which the *locale* of one portion of them was anciently known, this derivation seems proved.

The original name of Grassington Wood—now called Grass Wood, was "Silva Garrs." In this wood are the British forts, and the name no doubt distinguishes them from the open and exposed earthworks of the Romans on the high ground above. The word "Silva" is distinctly Roman, and means "wood" or "woody." "Gars" is also a common name in the township to this day. We have in Grassington places called "Garr's-hill," "Garr's-lane," and "Garr's end." "Garsington"

was once the name, and it has also been written "Garston." It is still locally known as "Gereston" Thus the conclusion that the name is historical, is amply supported. There is no doubt that if some proper system of research could be organized, many startling evidences of ancient occupations would be brought to light and disclose conditions of which we are at present completely ignorant. When I discovered the British stronghold or rock fortress in Grasswood in 1870, the inhabitants of the district were very incredulous, but an inspection of the remains soon convinced them that the works were such as could never have been made for any peaceful or pastoral purposes. In addition to the above there are circular fortifications at the Park Stile entrance, covering several acres of ground. The boundaries of these enclosures are well defined by boulder stones, and quite sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical of their purpose as a means of defence. Across the approach to a rock called Gregory Scar, there stretches a formidable trench, of from ten to fifteen feet in depth when first made. The main fortifications are on the highest hill or rocky elevation in the wood, reached from Gregory Scar, but almost perpendicular on all sides. Every possible approach to the chief fortress, it is evident, was defended by earthworks. To take a place of such strength it would be necessary to employ a large army, and an army well generalled.

Besides the almost inaccessible rocks in Grass Wood, there was a British encampment on the top of Addleborough or Aysgarth Moor, defending Wharfedale from attack by the Romans from Bracchium (Bainbridge). There was also a trench in Scale Park, near Kettlewell, to prevent a surprise by way of Coverdale, where at Thornton Steward the Romans had a station. The British who occupied the district were the Brigantes, and driven from their capital, Isurium, now Aldborough, they would very likely make here a determined stand for liberty. If so, the date was A.D. 70, when the Roman Proprætor, or Governor, was Petilius Cerealis. The Roman general was the celebrated Agricola. The Romans hemmed in the British all round by planting stations at different points. For the final dispersion of the Brigantes, and the destruction of their stronghold in the mountain fastnesses they have pushed forward an outpost from Ilkley to Grassington, and that this outpost was one of very considerable strength, is partly confirmed by the extraordinary size of the encampmont left there. Whatever plan may have been adopted and whenever executed, there can be no doubt that we have at Grassington a Roman encampment of such dimensions and preservation as to astonish all archæologists. It is not less than three quarters of a mile in length, and half a mile at least, in breadth.

The lines of the entrenchments are well defined, rising several feet above the ground, and by measurement some of them are 22 ft. across. The intrenchments are square and oblong. The encampment, like all Roman works of that character, is divided into two portions. In the portion facing the enemy three successive series of intrenchments for some distance, and then more according to the ground, are plainly

traced. I noticed that the inner intrenchments are nearly always quadrangular. The Romans did not, however, altogether confine themselves to a quadrangular figure,—especially in their summer or temporary camps. The site of the encampment at Grassington appears to have been previously occupied by the British, for several circles occur, and in one instance the Romans have sent their earthworks right through what has evidently been a British structure. Plenty of water was close at hand for man and beast. In one part of the encampment there rises an artificial mound, where the Roman standard may have been planted in view of the whole army. The main encampment is distant about a quarter of a mile from Grassington; but I have noticed remains which may be those of an outpost at Garrs End, corresponding with those of another outpost at the bottom of Lea Green, near to a place bearing still the significant name of Bell Fort. "Garrs End" properly describes the commencement of the Roman intrenchments. The mounds which are within the camp should be excavated, as they will probably contain interesting Roman relics.

There is evidence that lead ore has been smelted near the Roman station, and at a very remote date. Few, if any Roman coins have been found in the neighbourhood. Report speaks of some having been found once in Grassington Beck. When I have opportunity I purpose to more thoroughly explore the township, and obtain a correct survey of the remains to which I had the honour to call public attention. I may say that Grassington people are as incredulous respecting the Roman encampment as they were of the British forts. One old farmer says:—"They are nobbut sheep fouds, or places weer they've grown potatoes or patches of corn." When asked if sheepfolds were generally built according to one great plan, and with divisions of such gigantic proportions as those of the camp, he was fairly nonplussed, and confessed that he could not tell what the remains were. If the people of Grassington are wise, they will popularise the Roman encampment in their township as much as they can. The Yorkshire Archæological Society will, of course, pay the place an early visit. I see from the *Scotsman* that the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is making itself fully acquainted with all British and Roman remains over the Border. No discovery is allowed to pass unnoticed. Investigations are being pursued in different counties of a character similar to those demanded by the antiquities of Grassington.

Bolton. (From *L. M. Weekly Supplement.*) BAILEY J. HARKER.

A correspondent "*Celtic*, Bradford," induced by Mr. Harker's statements to visit these interesting remains, continues the subject:—Having partly examined Grass Wood, we were anxious to pay a visit to a place about two miles distant, on the opposite side of the river, where it was reported some old foundations were to be seen. Under the cheerful guidance of the genial-hearted farmer we were conducted to the hill-side in question, and were most agreeably surprised to find circles of stone and earthwork of similar character to those in Grass Wood, but in

better preservation. They are situated on the brow of a hill on a series of almost level benches or plateaux above one another, the highest, and apparently the last, being considerably the most extensive and best fortified by a natural cliff of limestone, which appears to have had any slack or deficient points filled up with limestone rock to the natural level of the plateau, and thus completed the semi-circle of defence in front. Across the middle of this camp a wall of rough boulders, about 6 ft. wide appears to have been built, almost facing the series of circular camps lower down the hill-side. There is also near here a circular pit, about 7 ft. diameter, with walled sides and entrance about 2 ft. wide, which may possibly have been covered for shelter or habitation. If these are the remains of defensive forts, they are in equally as good a position as those in Grass Wood, and are nearly in sight of each other. If the antiquarian and archæological societies of the Riding would combine together, and assist in getting all the information possible respecting all the prehistoric remains in their separate districts, they would be carrying out a much-needed work, and would doubtless throw much useful light on many particulars at present little understood, and might explain many things that are now only theory and supposition. If any one be wishful to examine the site mentioned above, I have no doubt he may do so on application to Mr. John Fell, of Chapel House Lodge.

SHEEP SCORING NUMERALS.

As a further evidence of the comparatively unchanged character of the inhabitants of the Yorkshire dales even from the Celtic period, as well as their undisturbed pastoral occupation, Mr. John Wrightson states, in the *Agricultural Gazette*, that "The Dale shepherds still use the old counting in Nidderdale and Swaledale, in Yorkshire; in Wasdale, Borrowdale, Man, Cornwall, and other places where the Celt lingered. The numeration appears to be closely related to Sanscrit, Hindustani, old Welsh, modern Welsh, and Romany." He gives the numerals from one to twenty which are used in the districts of Knaresborough, Old Welsh, Middleton-in-Teesdale, and Nidderdale.

	KNARESBOROUGH.	
Yah	Catterah.	Bumper.
Tiah.	Horna.	Yah-de-bumper.
Tethera.	Dick.	Tiah de-bumper.
Methera.	Yah-dick.	Tether-de-bumper.
Pip.	Tiah-dick.	Mether-de-bumper.
Teezar.	Tethera-dick.	Jigger.
Leezar.	Methera-dick.	

	OLD WELSH.	
Un.	Wyth.	Pymthec.
Dan.	Naw.	Un-ar-pymthec.
Tri.	Deg-or-dec.	Deu-ar-pymthec.
Pedwar.	Un-ar-dec.	Tre-ar-pymthec.
Pump.	Deu-dec.	Petuar-ar-pymthec.
Chwech	Triar-dec.	Ucent.
Saith.	Petuarar-dec.	

MIDDLETON-IN-TEESDALE.

Yan.	Catrah.	Bumfit.
Tean.	Horna.	Yan-a-bum.
Tether.	Dick.	Tean-a-bum.
Mether.	Yan-a-dik.	Tether-a-bum.
Pip.	Tean-a-dik.	Mether-a-bum.
Sezar.	Tethera-a-dik.	Jiggit.
Azar.	Mether-a-dik.	

NIDDERDALE.

Yain.	Overro.	Bumfitt.
Tain.	Coverro.	Yain-o-bumfit.
Eddero.	Dix.	Tain-o-bumfit.
Peddero.	Yain-dix.	Eddero-bumfit.
Pitts.	Tain-dix.	Peddero-bumfit.
Tayter.	Eddero-dix.	Jiggit.
Layter.	Peddero-dix.	

A THEORY ABOUT PLACE-NAMES,

WEST-RIDING TOWNS ENDING IN "AL"

The place-names in the West Riding including or ending in the words *hall*, *al*, *ale*, *ele*, &c., according to the index to the Post-office Directory, are Adel, Adle, *(Adele)*, Beaghall *alias* Beal (*Begale*, the hall of bracelets, crowns, garlands, the things with which warriors were decorated; Athelstan was "of earls the lord, of heroes the bracelet-giver"—a significant name occuring so near to the station at Castleford, and the entrenchment which afterwards came to be called Pomfret), Birstal, Burnsall (*Brineshalle*), Campsall (*Cansale*, the soldier's hall), Cattal (*Cathall*, the hall in the wood of the Britons, *Coed-al*), Elmsall (*Ermeshall*, the hall of Erm or Orm, a chieftain), Gomersal (*Gomershal*, the hall of Gomera, a chieftain), Gowdall, Hampall, Hampole (*Hanpol?* the *Hednes* or *Hannes hal*, the gabled or pinnacled hall), Hensall (*Hengst's hall*), Idle, Kiddal (*Chidal*, the white or *chalked* [limestone] hall, Saxon *Cilct*, chalked), Loversall (*Geureshall*, another chieftain), Newall (*Niuuehalle*, derivation apparent), Nostal (*Osele*, the *ost* or east hall), Ordsall, Pannal (the hall of mistrust, Saxon *Pæca*, a deceiver, see Painley, *Paghenhall*), Rowal (*Ruhall*, the rough, stormy hall); Sandal, several varieties of form; *Sandhalla*, derivation apparent; Siddal, Sicklinghall (*Sidinghall*), Snydale (*Snitehala*, the hall on the piece cut off, from the primeval woods probably), Stancil (perhaps the stone-hall), Tyersall; Warsill or Warsall, Woodall, many varieties, derivation apparent, and in some instances referring to a timber structure which would certainly be of later date, Wooldale (the hill-hall), and Worral (*withala*, the *hwithal*, the white hall.) The names given in bracketed italics are the Domesday names of the above places; the same distinction is adopted in those that follow. There are many others consisting of lone houses, of which I know a few, as Smeathalls, near Byram; several Gowdales or

Cowdales; Fishlake (*Fixale*, the fish-hall; Saxon, *Fixas*, *fisces*, fishes), Foxholes (*Foxele*, the cattle-hall; Saxon, Feole, *gen.* foes, cattle, hence property in living animals), Frickley *Frichenhall*, the half of the freeman; Saxon, *Freo*, free; *Frigan*, to set free; *Friga*, a free-man, a lord), Frisinghall (the hall of the free-man's children), Darnal (the hall of defiance; Saxon, *dyrran*), Skellow (*Scanhalla*, the shining hall), Tanshelf (*Tateshalle*, a chieftain), and others, some of which the writer may have overlooked.

Johnson may be quoted as to the meaning of the word hall—Hal, Saxon; halle, Dutch.

1. A court of justice; as Westminster Hall.
   "O! lost too soon in yonder house or hall."—POPE.
2. A manor house, so called because in it were held courts for the tenants.
   "Captain Sentry. my master's nephew, has taken possession of the hall-house and the whole estate."—ADDISON.
3. The public room of a Corporation.
   "With expedition on the beadle call,
   To summon all the company to the hall."—GARTH.
4. The first large room of a house.
   "Courtesy is sooner found in lowly sheds,
   With smoky rafters, than in tap'stry halls
   And Courts of Princes."—MILTON.

In the guildhalls of "famous London town" and elsewhere, and in the town halls of our boroughs, we have an illustration of the ancient meaning of this word; and in the Hallmote (*Hal-gemote*) we have the very Saxon court convened for the business of the locality. We have another illustration of the ancient use of the hall continued to a much later date in the translation of the Gospel according to St. Mark—"And the soldiers led Him (Christ) away into the hall, called Pretorium; and they called together the whole band." The latin word Pretorium meant the residence of the magistrate, and was identical with the administration of justice. Tennyson also uses the word in the sense of rule and power rather than domestic life—

For Arthur on the Whitsuntide before
Held court at old Caerleon upon Usk.
There on a day, he sitting high in hall,
Before him came a forester of Dean
Wet from the woods—

And again—

For this was Arthur's custom in his hall;
When some good Knight had done one noble deed
His arms were carven only; but if twain
His arms were blazoned also; but if none
The shield was blank and bare, without a sign
Saving the name beneath.

The ancient use of the word *hall* was, therefore, as a stronghold in which justice and punishment were dispensed. The places in whose names it occurs seem, then, to have been places set apart by the Saxons for the

administration of justice, or at least, for the execution of the law. If this be so, those places whose names end in *al*, &c., have a signification which bears upon the Saxon colonisation and their steps in the reduction of the Britons to servitude. It appears to the writer that the *hals* have been the very earliest subordinate settlements; the first to succeed the clan-station; the outposts planted to watch the Celt and protect the clan-station; in other words, the guard-house established to maintain order and punish crime on the frontier.

Started from the clan-stations and the old Roman *castra*, the most potential points of occupation, which of course have been the first settlements, the *hal* has been then established for police purposes; a cordon has thus been drawn round the clan-station, or several clan-stations have thus been linked together, and inside this cordon order has been established and firm possession gained. Then would follow the development of the clan, and the *worths*, the *tons*, the *hams*, and the *leys* would be occupied by the cadets of the family and the subaltern officers. Of these subdivisions the *worth* would be superior; it signifies an estate, that is, actual possession and ownership. I believe the positions of these *hals* clearly indicate this order of things. In consideration of this theory, let us take Castleford, one of the prime military stations, and with it the four clan-stations—Knottingley, Kellingley, Kellington, and Pollington, on the lower Aire, which reach down to the marshland and the cessation of population. They are connected on the river line by Smeathall, Beaghall, Rowal, Sandhall, Hensall, and Gowdall; and on the hill line by Tanshelf (Tateshalle in Domesday—Pontefract is not as yet), Weldale, Nostal, and Snydale. Of these names it will be seen that one only, Hensall, signifies possession; the rest are all descriptive; an arrangement that would naturally come to those who identified a position and not a property. Smeathall may mean the smoky or smoke-blackened hall; Beaghall means the hall of crowns or garlands; Bosworth cites a *Beahsell*, "the hall of bracelets;" Rowal seems to be the *Hreog-al*, the rough or stony hall, which may indicate the increasing inhospitability of the country. Hensall is Hengst's-al, literally the hall of the stallion, but figuratively the post maintained by some redoubtable champion, like unto a horse as to his strength and valour, as was Hengst, the first Saxon invader of England.

Adel. Adhill, Addle, an old Roman frontier post, connects Arthington and Leeds. Are we to look for the roots of this word in Ald-hal, the Old Hall, see Aldwoodley, Alluuoldelei, the "old-wood enclosure," close by? but at the same time we must not forget that Alward held Arthington and Adel in Edward the Confessor's time. However, the common ownership is very significant. Kiddal is the link that binds Collingham, with its other outpost at Sicklinghall, to Parlington, Swillington, and Lasingcroft. The denser clan-stations of the west, Manningham, Drighlington, Bowling, Stanningley, Carlinghow, and the ancient foundation at Dewsbury, have around them Birstal (Briteshall in Domesday), Gomersal, Chidsell, Knowl, Idle, Frisinghall, Tyersall, and

Ordsall; Bingley, Cottingley, and Cullingworth have Hallows Hill? (Hal-low, the Hall-hill), Hallas Rough Park, Hallas Hall; Arthington has Adel, Pannal, and Newall; Hunsingore has Cattal, Sicklinghall; Darrington has Hound-Hill Hall; Doncaster, another prime military station, and the clan-stations of Rossington, Edlington, &c., have Campsall (the soldier's hall), Sandal, Stancil, Skellow, *Scanhalla.*) Then the marshes intervene, which means that population and with it opposition ceases. Loversall, Elmsall (the chieftain's name comes in here, the hall of Erm or Orm), Hampole and Haslington, a minor clan-station. Near Halifax, an old Saxon settlement peculiar in itself, and not of the genus *worth*, *ton*, *ham*, or *ley*, and the clan-stations at Stanningley and Illingworth, we have Woold-all—the Wald-hal, the Hill-hall, Snydal and Siddall, and perhaps Saltenstall, Rawtenstall, and Heptonstall. At Rotherham and Sheffield we have Hallam, Worrall, Woodall, and Darnal. At Ripon, Walkington, and Markington, we have Warsill, Killinghall, apparently a minor clan station, elevated to such by the necessities of potential occupation, yet an offshoot from the major station; Arkendale was of old Arkil-dale, that is the dale of Arkil, a Danish chieftain of the time of the Conquest and evidently a later colonisation than its surroundings. Crakehall (*Crachell* in Domesday), Cundall (*Cundel* in Domesday), and Givendale, which may be another subordinate clan-station raised from a *hal*, where greater power was needed than in ordinary cases; and so the repetition occurs.

The above is not put forward as a conclusive account; it may perhaps turn out to be erroneous when thoroughly investigated. The theory sought to be established or upset is simply this—The Saxon colonisation of Britain was methodical; it proceeded on a military basis within measurable limits of time; it was throughout an act of conquest conducted by chieftains of whom not a little is known, or may be learnt by careful inquiry; it was not the result of absorption and the survival of the fittest of an indiscriminate, undistinguished mass, spreading their operations over an undeterminable period of time. The development was from the Roman stations, as the invasions were on the Roman lines; military rule obtained from the base to the forepost, and was secured before cultivation was commenced in the intervening spaces. Local knowledge can alone supply the necessary information. In obscure cases, where the ancient *hals* are represented by a solitary farm-house or have been absorbed by large towns, the map does not always suffice; some of them have been entirely swept away, but traces of them linger sometimes in the names of fields, sometimes in woods or in the names of streams or bridges, and of any of these correspondents would confer a favour by furnishing an account. In all cases, in addition to the written form of the word, the vulgar local pronunciation, and, as far as possible, the ancient form of spelling, should be given. There may also be some obscure or forgotten clan-stations, the names and sites of which might also be given through the medium of these columns.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

GRASSINGTON LEAD MINES.

A Decayed Industry.

Grassington, a quaint little town in Upper Wharfedale, nine miles from Skipton, has long been noted for its lead mines, belonging by manorial right to the Dukes of Devonshire. The present Duke has only a few acres of land on Grassington Moor, on which the office and mining agent's house, with outbuildings, now stand; but he claims all stone and minerals beneath the sod.

Probably the lead mines have been worked for two or three centuries, as this has been the staple industry of the little town for several generations, and many of the houses and cottages have dates over the doors going back to the seventeenth century. At that period the town was an ancient market town. In 1292 Robert de Plumpton was summoned before the Judges at York to answer for free warren in all his domain lands in Nestefield, Gersington, and Idel, and for having a market and fair, amends of the assize of bread and malt of all his tenants in Gersington, which belong to the dignity of the Crown. Robert claimed the liberties by Charter of Edward, then King, given in 1280, which he produced, granting to him and his heirs for ever a weekly market on the Friday at his manor of Gersington, and a yearly fair there of three days duration, viz., in the vigil, the day and the morrow of St. Michael, except the market and fair be to the harm of the neighbouring markets and fairs; and free warren in all his domain lands of Nestefield, Gersington and Idel so long as these lands are not within the metes of the King's forest. It would appear to be safe to assume that this prosperity had some connexion with a local occupation beyond that of agriculture. On the 12th Nov., 1465, the King granted letters patent to Sir William Stanley, Kt., and Joan his wife, the widow of Sir John Lovell, Lord Lovell, and to their lawful issue of the Castle Manor and Lordship of Skipton-in-Craven, the Manor of Marton-in-Craven, with all the towns, townships, &c., thereto belonging, and also the Mines of Coles and Leede and all other possessions and other appurtenances to the same Castell, Manors and Lordships belonging, with all the other towns, townships, hamletts, &c., veynes of Coles and Leede, and all other possessions in Craven, which came to oure handes and possession by strength and virtue of an Acte of Atteyndre of John Clyfford Knyght, late Lord Clyfford."

This early prominence is a fact highly illustrative of the ancient importance of the now decayed town, once a Roman outpost and garrison, afterwards a Saxon clan-station and a main point in their subjugation of Wharfedale. There is evidence in the Roman encampment at Grassington that lead ore has been smelted. The miners also frequently drive into old workings in their search for the veins of lead. These mines may, indeed, be said to be a continuation of those old lead mines, ten miles away, near Pateley Bridge, which date from the time of

the Romans; and it is an interesting circumstance in connection with the latter mines that some years ago there was found hidden among the stones on the moor an old "pig" of lead, about half the weight of those now smelted, with the name of the Emperor Trajan (A.D. 98) stamped on it. The population of Grassington shows a steady decline since 1851, when it stood at 1,138. In 1861 it was 1,015, in 1871, 830, in 1881, 617; but this is partly owing to the closing of a spinning mill, which was worked in 1842 as a worsted mill, since converted into a cotton-spinning mill, but now closed altogether, as the cost of transit—being nine miles from the nearest railway station—puts it out of the power of the present owner (Mr. Joseph Mason, of Gargrave) to compete with manufacturers more conveniently situated. Still, the mill and machinery are kept in good order, in hope of the long-expected day when the projected line to Kettlewell shall be completed.

The mines in question, during their most prosperous days, employed between one and two hundred men and boys, who lived in the towns of Grassington and Hebden, about two miles away from the works. They worked in periods, or shifts, of eight hours—the first commencing at six a.m. and running till two p.m.; those coming on at two would work till ten; and when demand was good, and the mine was worked "all round," another set of men and boys worked through the night till six o'clock next morning. While staying a few weeks in this unfrequented but delightful district, the writer was introduced to an old but very intelligent man, who has worked for half a century under the Dukes of Devonshire, and knows the whole process of mining, from blasting the rock to smelting the ore. The information now given was elicited from him in an afternoon's visit to the now deserted workings. One thing we will note in passing. My guide was on the shady side of 70, as before observed; but his step was firm, his back was straight, and his eye was clear. Moreover, his father, who had followed the same calling, was still alive, though upwards of 90 years of age; so we may conclude that hard work and exposure on the moors breeds a hardy race. These miners appear to have been a steady class of men, for the most part chapel-goers, and of sober and careful habits; though out of the small wages which they earned (an average of 17s. per week) it was almost impossible for them to save money. Indeed, it has often been said that the shopkeepers of Grassington were the real workers of the mines, as they gave credit to the men, who, when they were successful in their "takes," paid their debts.

On the last Saturday in each month the mining agent, from the window of the office, put up the various "takes," such as driving the galleries in search of the veins, sinking the shafts, or getting the ore and rubbish to the surface, which work was usually done by the fathom (six feet), the price varying according to the difficulties met with. Sometimes the workings ran through ground so soft that the sides required propping with wood every foot of the way; sometimes rock of the hardest millstone grit had to be blasted with powder or gun cotton, and the work

proceeded slowly. The nature of the ground was, however, pretty well known to both the agent and the men, who were not very particular in the price at which they took the work, as they knew that if they made too good a monthly bargain, the price would be pulled down next letting; or if, on the other hand, they had taken it too dear, they would next time be allowed to have it correspondingly cheap; *i.e.*, they would demand more and get more for their work.

There was, however, this disadvantage for the owner, that if the men found they had easier work than they expected, they were tempted to spin out their time in order to deceive the agent. All candles, powder, and gun-cotton were charged to the men, and the tools were weighed out to them at the commencement of the month—so much iron, so much steel—these latter being credited to them when returned at the end of the month, so that they were only made responsible for the wear and tear. Thus a check was kept upon them, and it became their interest to prevent waste.

The depth of the shafts and workings varied from 40 to 80 fathoms (*i.e.*, 240 ft. to 480 ft.). The veins of lead ore are, unlike the beds of coal, found to lie perpendicular, or with a slight inclination towards the north, and can be followed as deep as it is profitable to work, the thickness varying from a few inches to several yards, though the thickness of the veins was no criterion of their richness, many of the smaller and thinner veins being more profitable and purer than the thicker ones. Another peculiarity of this ore is that the veins have an almost invariable east to west direction, so that in driving the workings, a gallery from north to south is sure to intersect the veins if lead is there. When ore is found and brought to the surface, it has to go through quite a succession of washings, grindings, and screenings, before it is finally sorted into heaps according to its various qualities and fit for sending to the smelting mills. It must be borne in mind that pure lead is never found, it has some mixture of rock, mostly millstone grit, and all this must be separated from the ore. One of the latest money items spent by the present Duke was for the fitting up of a crushing mill to separate the rock from the ore. This is done by immense and ponderous wheels capable of crushing the hardest rock, and the motive-power is water, which turns a noble wheel of 36ft. diameter, or 108ft. circumference. When the earthy and stony particles by which the ore is surrounded have been crushed and washed away, the last process is the smelting, by which the metal is melted in furnaces, run off into pans, and taken by immense iron ladles while in the liquid state and run into moulds holding about 1 cwt. The lead cools sufficiently in about five to seven minutes to be turned out in bars called "pigs," which are weighed, and each one marked according as it weighs over or under the cwt., and piled with others in stacks ready for sale or removal.

The smoke from the furnace of this smelting-mill has to traverse a flue a mile long before it eventually emerges from the chimney on the top of the hill. Formerly the hill-side, for hundreds of acres round, was

destitute of verdure, as every green thing was killed by the poisonous vapours. No sheep or cattle could be safely pastured on the adjoining hill-sides, as the wind frequently carried the smoke long distances and affected everything on which it fell. But a few years ago a clever Welsh mining agent of the Duke's suggested this alteration in the flue, by which, instead of escaping immediately from the furnace to the chimney, the smoke is made to traverse a long distance, and by means of several condensers, fixed at various points, it is rendered comparatively harmless, and made to deposit its leaden fumes in such quantities that it soon repaid the first outlay, and has since been thousands of pounds to the credit of the workings. Two or three sweepings per year of this immense flue resulted in the recovery of many tons of the purest lead, which would otherwise have been worse than wasted. The hill-side is green again, and sheep and cattle may now be safely pastured in the neighbourhood of the chimney. The mining operations were discontinued about three years ago, but as there was a quantity of ore on hand the smelting-house was kept going about another twelve months, so that this might all be worked up. There is still about 50 or 60 tons of pig lead stacked in the yard, the proceeds of a consignment of ore from the Buckton Mining Company, the last work which these furnaces have done, and it was rather melancholy to see already the evidences of decay and ruin where for so long a period an industry had given employment to so many families. The Duke of Devonshire has upwards of 1,000 tons of pig lead stacked at Gargrave station; and it will give some idea of the depreciation in value and the unprofitable character of lead-mining when it is known that the price is now about £10 per ton, whereas upwards of £20 per ton was the market price ten years ago. This is partly owing to foreign competition, by which lead, more easily and consequently cheaper got than our own, is poured into the market, and partly because lead is not now nearly so much in demand as formerly, other compound metals having largely superseded it.

The hill-sides in the neighbourhood of the smelting mill are dotted over with the remains of the workings, looking in the distance like large mole-hills, but not a soul now goes near them except from curiosity. The ladders by which the various levels were reached, the iron trucks, rails, tools, and various gears have all been brought to the surface, and are heaped together in a rusty pile of old iron, too far from a railway to make the carriage worth any price being offered. The barrows are under cover, and the remains of the last fire raked out from the furnace; the great water-wheel and crushing mill are left properly oiled, the wire rope in good order round the drum, but it is too evident that the works will not be resumed. The Duke is said to have carried on the mines for the last ten years at a positive loss. If this is so, however, there is a handsome set-off against it, as my informant assured me that some twenty-five years ago he could not have been making less than twenty thousand pounds per annum out of them. The history of these mines is an illustration of the well-known mutability of all earthly things. New

industries spring up, old ones decay, and populations naturally congregate where work is plentiful. As for the good people of Grassington, they are firmly convinced that nothing but railway communication can revive the spirit of the place. There is one thing it certainly would do; it would open up to the tourist and holiday-maker one of the finest dales in Yorkshire, and bring into public notice one of the most charming summer resorts for the lovers of nature, and in some degree relieve the pressure which is felt in the month of August on all the Yorkshire coast towns.

From the *L. M. Weekly Supplement.* J. LUCAS.

THE ILKLEY CROSSES.

On the occasion of the visit of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Society to Ilkley, Mr. J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A. (Scot.), read a paper on the Ilkley Crosses. He said: The history of the Ilkley Crosses takes us back to the dawn of Christianity in the North of England, when Yorkshire formed a portion of the kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from the Humber to the Forth. Shortly after the departure of the Roman legions from Britain the English invasion burst in all its fury upon our shores, and separated the Church of Ireland from the rest of European Christendom by an intrusive wedge of heathenism. No sooner, however, had the English settled down in their new home than this wedge of heathenism, which had been driven by sheer brute force into the midst of a Christian community, experienced the moral strength of the Gospel of Christ pressing on it from both sides. Thus, whilst Augustine brought the Christianity of Rome to the shores of Kent, Columba carried the Celtic Christianity of Ireland to Iona, whence Aidan went forth as a missionary to Lindisfarne, where a centre was established for the conversion of Northumbria. The moral effect of Aidan's teaching was to substitute civilisation for barbarism. One of the material results which accompanied it is now before us in the beautifully sculptured crosses which, after being associated with the changing fortunes of Ilkley for a thousand years, still bear witness to the triumph of the religion of Christ over that of Woden and Thor.

The earliest Christian memorials in Great Britain are rude pillar stones, untouched by the chisel, except where an inscription is cut in debased Roman capitals on Cryptic oghams, the language being either Latin or Celtic. They belong to the transition period between Paganism and Christianity, and are found only within the purely Celtic area of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the West of England. Some of these pillar stones are possibly as old as the fourth or fifth centuries, although the dates of none of them have been ascertained from historical evidence. Next in age to the pillar stones come the elaborately-carved crosses such as those at Ilkley, ranging as regards date between the seventh and eleventh centuries. The characteristic features of these crosses are as

follows :—(1.) The cross is either hewn out of one block of stone or the head is formed out of a separate piece and mortised into the shaft; the whole being firmly fixed in a solid stone base or socket. (2.) The shaft is of rectangular section, tapering towards the top, and the head has four circular hollows at the angles formed by the intersection of the limbs, and the limbs are often encircled by a ring. (3.) The ornament is usually arranged in panels, separated from each other by horizontal bands, and a bead or cable moulding runs up the angles of the shaft. (4.) The ornament is typically Celtic, and similar to that found in the MSS. and on metal work of the same period in Ireland, consisting of spirals, with expanded ends, key patterns arranged diagonally, interlaced work, dragonesque shapes, scrolls of foliage, and scenes from Scripture. (5.) The inscriptions when they occur are generally to the effect that "A erected this cross to the memory of B. Pray for his soul." The characters are either Saxon uncials, Irish minuscules, or Scandinavian runes, and the language Old English or Latin.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to why these crosses were erected. Some, such as those formerly existing at Ripon, marked the boundaries of sanctuary, others are no doubt memorial, and I think it quite possible that many were set up by the early missionaries to commemorate the conversion of a particular district, and to mark the site of the church which was to be built when the necessary funds were collected. The dates of most of these crosses can only be arrived at approximately, but it is known that the characteristically Celtic patterns with which they are adorned originated in MSS. in the seventh century, and attained the highest perfection in sculptured stone work in the beginning of the ninth century and in metal work in the tenth and eleventh centuries, finally becoming extinct after the Norman conquest. The Lindisfarne Gospels exhibit the most perfect specimen of the Hiberno-Saxon illumination we possess, and its date is known to be between 698 and 721, as it contains a memorandum showing that it was executed by the order of Bishop Eadfirth, the successor of St. Cuthbert. The magnificent Celtic cross at Clonmacnois, which marks the culminating point of Celtic art in stonework, bears an inscription showing that it was erected by the Abbot Colman to the memory of King Hann Sinna, and its date is therefore fixed by historical evidence as being 914. The processional cross of Cong, which is the best style of Celtic metal work, bears an inscription fixing its date in the year 1123. Having now discussed the subject from a general point of view, I propose to call attention to the peculiarly interesting features of the Ilkley crosses.

The first historical notice we have of these monuments is in Camden's Britannia, where they are briefly referred to as "pillars of Roman work." All that now remains of what must once have been three very beautiful crosses are the complete shaft of the central one and the mutilated shatts of those on each side. The mortice holes for fixing on the heads of two of them still exist, and in the grounds of Myddelton Hall is a portion of one of the heads. A few years ago the base of the central

cross was surrounded by three circular steps, which concealed the lower portion, as can be traced by the weathering of the stone. One of the other shafts was used for a long time as a gatepost in the churchyard wall, and was consequently shockingly defaced. All three shafts are now securely fixed in a new stone base, and it is to be hoped that there is no further chance of injury. The centre shaft is the most important, both on account of its great size and the special interest of the sculptures. On one side are the symbols of the four Evangelists, and on the other the Lord holding a pastoral staff. From the third to the thirteenth centuries Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists is one of the most common subjects of Christian monuments, but the method of representation changed considerably as time went on. In the Catacombs at Rome, in the early centuries, Christ is symbolised by the cross and the four Evangelists by four books, or scrolls at each of the corners; or, again, Christ is represented as the Agnus Dei, standing upon the Mountain of Paradise, from the base of which issue four rivers which are the four Evangelists. As early as the sixth century we find the Evangelists symbolised by the four beasts described in the Apocalypse, St. Matthew having the face of a man, St. Mark that of a lion, St. Luke that of a bull, and St. John that of an eagle, and they carry either books or scrolls in their hands. Generally the bodies are those of winged beasts, but on the Ilkley cross the bodies are human. This curious deviation from the usual method of representation occurs only in a few rare instances, as on a Saxon slab at Wirksworth Church, in Derbyshire, and in one or two MSS. Above the Norman doorway of Adel Church is a good example of Christ as the Agnus Dei surrounded by the four symbolical beasts.

In connection with the present subject it may be mentioned that the cross at Clonmacnois, in Ireland, sculptured with scenes from the life of Our Lord, is referred to in the Irish annals under the date 1060, as the "Cros na Screaptra," or Cross of the Scriptures, and the same name might fairly be given to the cross of Ilkley. Three of the panels of the central shaft are sculptured with grotesque animals arranged systematically in pairs and facing each other, or shown simply with one paw upraised and the tails interlaced. The two sides are ornamented with scrolls of graceful foliage, such as occur on many of the stones of this period within the ancient Northumbrian area, but not in the Celtic MSS., or on stones in Scotland north of the Forth, or in Wales or Ireland. The carving on the two smaller shafts is of similar character to that on the centre one, consisting of conventional foliage and animals, together with interlaced work, and in one case a human figure holding a book. The meaning of the monstrous animal forms found so frequently upon the stones of this class, has not yet been satisfactorily explained, but, perhaps, a study of the various manuscripts of the middle ages may eventually throw more light on the matter. In addition to the shafts of the three crosses in the churchyard, there are fragments of at least two others preserved within the church. In conclusion, I hope I have suc-

ceeded in showing that the Ilkley crosses are historical landmarks of the very highest importance, both as bearing witness to the establishment of Christianity upon this hallowed spot one thousand years ago, and testifying to the comparatively advanced stage of art culture in Northumbria at that remote period.

THE ILKLEY AND CROWLE CROSSES.

The paper on the Ilkley crosses, recently read by Mr. J. Romilly Allen at a meeting of the British Archæological Society in London, a report of which was published in *The Yorkshire Weekly Post* of the 5th January, 1884, opens up a most interesting subject, although it entirely fails to deal with it in a conclusive manner. It is a subject worthy of all consideration, but it has received little that is serious. The form and appearance of these ancient monuments, full of visible information we have yet failed to read, and carelessly misnamed "crosses," are very well known to most people, intimately known, we have no doubt, to all who have visited Ilkley. Their origin and meaning are, however, quietly put down as matters of very great obscurity; and in the general ignorance the unoffending emblems have been hastily and unworthily relegated to "paganism" and all the horrors associated with it. They are works of art, rude it is said, but still works of art; yet what they mean and why they have been constructed are matters which are conveniently said to be either in Egyptian darkness, or plainly the representation of some of the diabolical orgies or practices of unchristian savages, according as the faith of "honest doubt" or some one of the "creeds" attempts their elucidation. This, we believe, is a mere gratuitous and ignorant assumption.

It is possible that without being "pagan" and typical of orgies, blood-offerings, and Druids, or "the triumph of Christianity over Paganism," or *vice versa*, they are entirely secular and political, and were never intended to have any reference to any creed or church until the Church itself began to distort their meaning. This we shall endeavour to show by the facts that surround them and the localities in which they are found. We will first consider the early story of Ilkley with reference to the crosses. Ilkley is well known to have been a Roman station, bearing the latinised name of Olicana. It was a garrison of some strength, and during the Roman domination watched upper Wharfedale, at the head of which the Celts resided almost in unbroken freedom so long as they did not disturb the public peace, for the preservation of which the Roman garrison was kept up. The Roman domination was succeeded by that of the Saxon, who acquired by conquest that which his imperial predecessor could no longer hold. It is well known that, in accordance with military art, the Saxon conquest was made on the lines established by the Roman, whose outposts were among the very first places occupied by his successor and pupil in the art of war. Ilkley, therefore, which

could be readily reached by means of good roads and supported along open communications, was seized long before the surrounding country was penetrated, much less occupied and reduced to subjugation. But at this point the similarity between the two occupations entirely ceases. During the four hundred years of his undisturbed domination the Roman showed no noteworthy signs of colonisation; during the four hundred years of undisturbed Saxon domination the conqueror had absolutely overrun the country and made the whole of it his own, even to the effacement of the native race. It is in this fact we find the initiation and prosecution of an order of things unknown to the Roman.

Colonisation means reaping the fruits of the earth, which necessarily means the buying, selling and barter of goods. In an unsettled country buying and selling, the storing and transfer of commodities, can only take place where law and order prevail; that is, where the strength of the occupier is consolidated. In the Saxon domination, then, from its earliest commencement to its latest development, the laws of commerce had to be attended to, and the market and place of business must have been the garrison town. As the area of occupation increased, so would the garrison towns multiply, and with them the markets, but with this difference, the market would increase in inverse ratio to the strength of the garrison, which would diminish and eventually die. Ilkley may be taken to have been one of the earliest market towns established in the Saxon domination. How the other market towns came to be established I shall proceed to show as wave after wave of new comers arrive and push beyond the last settled frontier.

The site of a Saxon clan-station is well defined by the word *ing* compounded in its name. About Ilkley we have the clan-stations Arthington, Addingham, and Grassington, and the stations descend the valley by Collingham to Hornington, at the very spot where the Wharfe enters the Ouse. The process that obtained in Wharfedale is repeated elsewhere. The steps of the Saxon conquest of Airedale, from the point of its invasion at Castleford, the Roman station *Legeolium*, are uncommonly well marked both westward and eastward, and as interesting in their vestiges.

Castleford, or as it was called in Danish times Castraford, was the Roman *castrum-legeolium* "the camp of the people," the root-word *leod* people being also found in the neighbouring places, Leeds, Ledsham and Ledston, the two latter of which rose out of the waters at Kippis, the hill that stopped the water inundation, according to the combination of the Saxon words *cepan*, to stop, detain, and *ea* water. From Castleford eastward we have the recurrence of the clan-stations at Knottingley, Kellington, Pollington, &c., down to Armyn, where the waters of the Aire *mingle* (Sax. *mengan*, to mix) with those of the Ouse and create Marshland, at the extremity of which we have Adlingflete, "the naval station of the tribe of Æthel or the noble," on the river Trent. And in recurrence with these clan-stations we have places whose names end in *al* as Baghal, Roal, Campsall, and down to Crowle, which I take to be

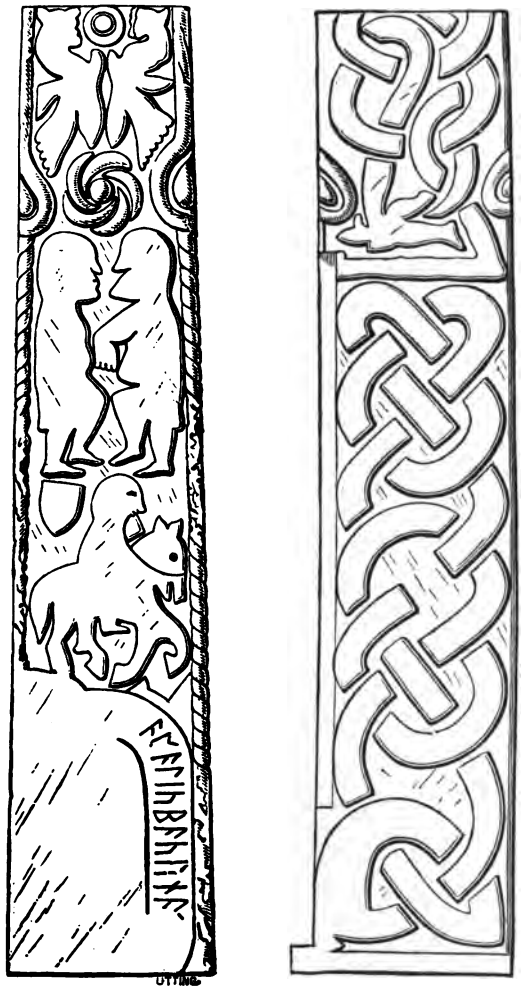
Cro-al, on a goodly hill abruptly rising some 100 feet out of the middle of the waters, and marking the edge of the inhospitable fens, where the mingled floods of the Trent and Ouse still maintain a swamp that, despite all drainage and labour, is one of the most desolate nooks in Yorkshire. It is not unlikely that the first syllable of the place-name is some mutilation or modification of the Saxon *creag*, which is our *crag*, a rough broken rock, or point of a rock, a designation which fairly answers to the site of Crowle.

Those places whose names end in *al* were the sites of Saxon *hals*, frontier posts pushed forward from the clan-station for a further grasp of ground and the maintenance of order on the frontier. They followed the clan-stations as the clan-stations succeeded each other. The Saxon *hal* was a place established for police purposes, a common hall, a hall of justice, and for the transaction of the business of the community; not the private establishment that the word has since come to describe. The original meaning of the Saxon *hal* still lingers in our guildhalls and town halls, which are the seats of a tribunal and not a discussion forum where the commonweal is to be considered in Council, which was a Hanshus, such as Athelstane granted to the men of Beverley. What, then, Ilkley was before the domination passed on to Addingham and Grassington, I take it that Crowle was, a frontier post whence a portion of the country was reduced to law and order, and where traffic was safely engaged in before a further portion of the country was settled and methodised.

The early history of Crowle is lost in everything but conjecture and the faint light that the surrounding place-names afford in conjunction with its own. Whatever the *Cru-hal* might receive its designation from in the days when it was but a towering hill in the midst of bogs formed by the bursten waters of the Trent and Ouse, and dissevered from the Isle of Axholme, or whatever clan-station it might be the frontier post of, are matters that need not be discussed here at present; but I may be allowed to assume that it was such a *hal* and the frontier post in which a Saxon garrison was maintained to prevent trouble being wrought by the Celts, dispossessed of their fertile and hospitable lands and driven into the boggy wilderness which still retains the ominous name of Marshland Crowle is now a border parish, having one part in the county of Lincoln, and the other in the county of York. It was one of the very earliest of the possessions of the Abbey of Selby, to which it was given with its church. As a seat of population and Christianity, it unquestionably extends into the Saxon days. Its name is locally pronounced *Cru*-or *Crio-al;* in the Conqueror's time it was written *Crull;* "eodem modo Crull, scilicet, una hundreda quæ jacet in vicecomitatu Lincolniensi," says the Charter; a place having *soc* and *sac* which then were things belonging to high jurisdiction, and a mark of the habitation of power. The designation "a hundred," equivalent to a wapentake, acknowledges a political importance far beyond that of a mere country town; it raises it into the territorial and municipal significance we might expect a frontier post would have and maintain

when it was the last that could be established by reason of the cessation of land. Ilkley could not maintain this distinction for the simple reason that the conquests were pushed far beyond it.

In the parish church of Crull there is a mutilated pillar now serving as a lintel of the doorway between the church and the tower, which pillar



THE CROWLE CROSSES.

has been a "cross" precisely similar in kind and purpose to those at Ilkley. The point I now wish to urge is that these crosses are distinctly political, and have no dogmatic connection with Christianity; they mark

a social event in the Saxon domination, and are not private memorials ro the relics of piety or superstition, but public institutions and the emblems of dominion—in truth the "pillars of empire." I notice that Mr. J. Horsfall Turner, writing of one of these "crosses" at Walton, in Vol. iv. of "Old Yorkshire," says "the number of crosses in the line of the great Roman road from Mancunium, *via* Cambodunum to Eboracum is very remarkable. . . . . Near Slack or Scammonden are High Cross and Maplin Cross, and in the north-west corner of Raistrick Churchyard is the base of a beautiful floriated cross. Still following the Roman road . . . is Walton Cross, which bears Roman indications in its name." I do not know what the "Roman indications" are, but I find that the crosses are on the Roman roads, the mediums of communication and means of conquest, and I believe that Walton in its very name gives a distinct point in the establishment of the Saxon domination. I trace the etymology of Walton to the *tun* of the Walle, the spot where the (Welsh) native Celts formed an establishment between some of the intermittent advances of the conquerors. The Saxons would find Walton to be a "nest of thieves" just as soon as the arrival of a new clan or other reinforcement demanded an extension of territory—a process repeated even now in other lands where the Saxons do congregate. The Celts would then have to be dispossessed, no doubt at the point of the sword, for the natives like modern Zulus and Maoris were very much given to fighting. Having driven the Celts off, the conqueror would then "fix" himself, and in a short time rear his "cross" which would not be a cross at all, but a "pillar of Empire," the *mearc-stæn* and visible emblem of his domination, the marked-spot where government was administered, and where the *market* might be held and provisions brought from the exterior in safety and under the protection of law, for the purposes of barter.

SCARBOROUGH BUTTER CROSS.

Is not the fact that "Market - crosses," which are not crosses, but pillars, sometimes plain and rude, at other times decorated according to the style of the time in which they are built, still are, as they always have been, the indication of the site of the market, and the strongest evidence that the "pillar of Empire" was created to mark the place of government, and that around the pillar there must be an observance of law and order. I give here an illustration of the Scarborough "Butter Cross," as the conventional type of a pillar adopted in the days of settled Christianity. Such crosses are familiar objects in most of our ancient market-towns, and bear no mark of the Church about them, except their name and architecture.

This subject is worthy of further consideration, and the combined action which alone can throw full light upon it. If the theory be correct, it will apply not only to Yorkshire, but to the entire kingdom; the discussion of it is therefore open to anyone, and the wider it ranges the surer the deductions to be formed from it; if it be not correct it is not difficult to demolish it, and its destruction will certainly furnish much information which cannot fail to add to our knowledge of the origin, and the reason of the being of those remarkable monuments of the past. An enumeration of all known crosses and their localities is desirable.

One word more as to the cross at Crowle. The chasm of which it forms the lintel is the rough, heedless, makeshift work of some negligent and penurious official, vicar or churchwarden, and is said to be of recent date, the stone being found in the wall when the aperture was made. It would probably cost £5, perhaps less, to have the now mutilated pillar removed from its present position, to some more suitable one, and the doorhead decently made, which would certainly be no disadvantage to the church, and therefore cannot be opposed on that score. There can be no question whether the stone by its exhibition and the lesson it would teach, is worth such a sum; for it is most curiously illustrated as to its uncommon and highly suggestive emblems, and, according to our opinion, is earlier than the pillars at Ilkley. The church itself is a sad ramshackle structure in the last stage of patchwork, decrepitude and unsightliness, eminently worthy of being improved off the face of the earth; but the tower, wherein the stone was found, is more worthy and evidently a specimen of the handiwork of the later abbots of Selby. It may have replaced the Norman structure that the earliest of them raised some three or four centuries before, at the time when the Saxon church was given to them by Galfrid de la Wirchi. Under these circumstances, it seems very likely indeed that the "pillar of Empire," originally stood in the market place or churchyard, and that when its signification had been lost (in the Norman time, or perhaps even much later), it was seized upon as good for building purposes, although a memorial of *paganism*, and walled into the fabric of the sacred edifice. If it should turn out that the poor stone was not a dreadful memorial of horrid rites, of druidical blood and thunder, of pagan orgies and demoniacal torture, but the simple indication of established law and order, the discovery will accord with our belief, and it will greatly gratify the feelings of many people to see the poor pillar after its many vicissitudes restored to its original use in the market-place it indicated "in the days when the earth was young," now much more than a thousand years ago.

From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*. W. WHEATER.

THE CROWLE CROSS.

Although this interesting relic had been inspected from time to time by antiquaries, the discovery of the Runes upon it was left for the Rev. J. F. Fowler, M.A., F.S.A., of Durham University, in 1868. In the *Reliquary* for July, 1869, are drawings of it with an article, I need hardly say not by Mr. Fowler, making it support the theories of Jacob Bryant! Dr. Ellis, of the Manor House, obtained leave for the stone to be temporarily taken out, so that all sides might be photographed, and the buried portion of the inscription revealed. I believe it is illustrated by Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, in a supplementary volume to his splendid work. As to the origin of the ornament in so called "Irish" MSS, and these early crosses that is evident to anyone who has given due study to the history and grammar of art, and avoided the theories of literary men with which the subject is overlaid and obscured. These interesting monuments are their best interpreters. They will teach us more than books.

The Crowle Cross very plainly tells us:—

1. That the single stone which formed the shaft and lower limb of the cross was used by the Norman masons as a lintel for the west door of the church then building; and not by modern churchwardens as suggested. That the semi-arch over it and filling in of lozengy masonry is of the same date. The splayed edge was worked when it was inserted. The tower into which this door opens is of later date. This is not the only shaft of such a cross so used; in Cundall Church,* Richmondshire, for example, the same thing was done.

2. That it was a personal memorial is evident from similar examples in Scotland particularly one which it very much resembles at Kilcroinan in Argyleshire, although of much later date, which has this inscription in Lombardic letters.—"Hic est crux Caleni McHeacn et Katherinæ uxoris ejus." This is engraved in the publication of the Spalding Club. There are represented man and wife as at Crowle, and below himself on horseback, as he was wont to be the most of his time. At Crowle there is even the shield, but it is altogether ruder than the Scottish example. Very many of these Scottish crosses bear equestrian figures, and early ones carved with spirit and truth.

3. That so much remains of the lower limb of the cross itself that the form and character of the whole can be imagined.

4. The inscription may or may not be the original one, and Professor Stephens has not quite satisfied himself about its meaning.

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*That such a "cross" has been similarly found in Cundall (*ie* the Cund-hall) church, I take to be another proof of my theory. I notice that the ancient Clan-station of Fawdington is in the modern parish of Cundall, another corroborative incident. There is a village Crondall, in Hampshire, standing on the Roman road to Silchester where Roman coins have been found. This is also corroborative. *Ed.*

THE LEEDS CROSS.

5. That it evidently stood erect in the churchyard, and probably before any stone structure, when a stavekirk, or wooden church, the earliest erection, occupied this site. There was a church here in 1086, as we learn from Domesday Book. Stone would have to be brought to this spot by water from beyond Doncaster. This stone is 6ft. 6in. long, 1ft. 4in. wide, and 10in. thick, and being, if I recollect right, an oolitic limestone, would weigh over 8 cwt. In Crowle Churchyard are the remains of the shaft of a cross and base of the thirteenth century, as the form of the stop shows. This shaft has been cut down, and a bronze dial (dated) placed on the top, with a handle to help you to mount the shaft.

Westminster [From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*]. A. S. ELLIS.

THE LEEDS CROSS.

The Rev. G. F. Browne, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, delivered a lecture on "The Leeds Cross and other old English Crosses," in the Lecture Hall of the Church Institute, Leeds. The lecturer, in the course of his most interesting address, said that the north-eastern part of England was very much richer in sculptured stones than the whole of the rest of England put together. There was nothing in the world to compare with these stones, except the collection of great sculptured stones in the east of Scotland, which, however, greatly differed in character from those to be found in this district. The characteristic of English sculptured stones was that they were pillars with a cross head, whereas the Scotch crosses were flat sculptured stones with ornaments on both sides. Turning to the Leeds Cross, he said that it had not got on it anything purely Celtic or Hibernian. It differed from a large number of Yorkshire stones in not having on it anything which could be described as Hibernian in art. He had heard it said that the Leeds Cross must have assigned to it a lateish date because it had some scroll work upon it, and scroll work was a proof of late date. He had taken some trouble to investigate that question, and had come to the conclusion that, so far from scroll work being a proof of late date, it was a proof of the earliest date. Scroll work was favoured by those who took the Roman side in the great controversy between the Roman and the Celtic Church 1200 years ago. Those who took the Celtic side of the question would have nothing to do with scroll work. When the scroll work was very badly executed he was inclined to place it at an earlier date, but good scroll work was a proof of the great antiquity of a cross. On the Leeds Cross there was a limited amount of interlacing, and very little of that was comparatively good. Interlacing work, too, was a sign of great antiquity.

Passing on to the figured panels on the Leeds Cross, they were five in number. Usually with stones of this kind one found the four Evangelists represented by their special symbols, and this was the case

with the Leeds Cross, on which also he believed there was a figure of our Lord. The various panels of the Leeds Cross were then explained by the lecturer by means of tracings. One of the panels represented, he believed, the Scandinavian Saga of Wieland Smith carrying off the swan maiden. The Scandinavian Society had decided that this supposition was true, and that the panel in question had not its like in the whole world besides. He then referred to another very interesting stone, which was dug up at the same time as the Leeds Cross, and which had an inscription. That stone was missing now. He was afraid that it was adorning some rockery, and he should be glad if that lecture were the means of its being restored. The stone was of the same character as the cross. His supposition was that it was placed over the tomb of Onlaf, King of Northumbria and Dublin, in 941. Leeds would be a very central place for a Danish king to make a settlement in, and after Onlaf's death near Lindisfarne, it was very probable that his body was brought to Leeds and buried there. In conclusion, he said that his explanation as to the work on the panels of the Leeds Cross must be taken as supposition rather than fact; still he was bound to believe that the explanation given was in all probability correct. Major Moore rather questioned the truth of the explanation with reference to Scandinavian mythology, asking how we were to account for the fact that certain portions of the cross dealt with Christian symbols and certain portions with mythology. The lecturer said that if the cross were to commemorate the death of Onlaf, who was a Christian, it was also feasible that, being descended from the Scandinavian kings, the feats of the Scandinavian demi-gods should also be commemorated upon his tomb-stone.

The history of this Leeds Cross, since its revival, is not without some little interest. I will give it briefly in the words of one, who, from his point of view, speaks with authority. His account is a naive and very excellent illustration of the manner in which such ancient things were dealt with half a century ago. The account is given in a letter to the Editor of the *Builder*, and is worthy of reproduction for that reason. It is perhaps unnecessary to say that since the date of the letter Mr. Chantrell has made the people of Leeds "a present of their own old Cross;" but it is rather astonishing to remember that Mr. Chantrell was not treated as a common "abstractor of goods not his own," when he presumed to take the Cross away. The letter says:—

"Will you kindly spare me a corner in your valuable paper for a few remarks in answer to the incorrect statements respecting this cross, made by Professor Westwood and Mr. Way, in their joint paper read at the last meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, an account of which appeared in the *Builder* on the 15th of July, 1865. In justice to Mr. Chantrell, architect, who I expected would have answered for himself, I cannot do better than give a concise history of the discovery and fate of this cross.

"In the year 1837, Dr. Hook, then Vicar of Leeds, now Dean of Chichester, commissioned Mr. Chantrell to prepare plans for the rebuilding of the Parish Church. During the demolition of the old walls (more particularly the tower) the architect discovered that many of the stones were carved, whereupon he offered rewards to any of the workmen who should find any sculptured stones. By this means he obtained a large and valuable collection of these ancient relics, and had them removed to his residence near Leeds. After clearing off the mortar, and thoroughly cleansing the specimens, he discovered he had nearly the whole of one cross (the one now in question) and the greater portion of a smaller one. In 1839, he read a paper on the discovery of this cross, before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; and afterwards in London, before the Royal Institute of British Architects, illustrated by drawings, and I believe castings in plaster from the cross. Since the discovery, it has been taken the greatest care of, and has formed a pleasing feature in Mr. Chantrell's garden, wherever he has resided. It is now with him in the county of Sussex, not far from Brighton; and, strange enough, the vicar, the cross, and the architect are all located in one county. I only trust, at the proper time, Mr. Chantrell may be inclined to make the Leeds people a present of their own "old cross" (around which, no doubt, the early Christians worshipped, before a church was erected in Leeds), so that it may once more rest beneath the roof of the Parish Church, after its long sojourn in the south of England.

"H. W. CHANTRELL."

THE RECENT ANTIQUARIAN DISCOVERIES AT ILKLEY.

A FURTHER interesting discovery has been made which bears testimony to the occupation of Ilkley (Olicana) by the Romans. A large, roughly carved mural tablet, bearing an inscription (partly obliterated by time and the action of fire), was dug up in the course of excavation at the Rose and Crown Inn, Ilkley, which is close to the Parish Church, and probably within the boundary line of the Roman town and fortifications. The circumstances of the discovery briefly are:—Mr. Wall, the landlord, having decided upon forming some gardens at the rear of the hotel, this necessitated certain excavations, in the course of which those engaged on the work came upon an old rubble wall, and while clearing this away a large block of stone was found about 2ft. down, which seemed to have been used as a foundation. On turning this over it was found to bear signs of rough carving, hence it was removed to a place of safety, the dirt adhering to it was cleared off, and then it was seen that it bore both a figure, somewhat roughly carved, and an inscription. The stone is 6ft. long, and measures 30in. across the centre, which may be taken as its width. It is in a very rough state

indeed. The back—that part which fortunately was uppermost—evidently has never been worked at all, not even squared, but resembles an ordinary flat piece of stone before being worked and as from the quarry. The face of the stone has, however, been worked, with the exception of about 15in. at the base, which shows signs of having been below the surface at some remote period. The figure occupies about three feet, or one-half, of the entire stone, and is, of course at its uppermost part. It represents a female with the right hand pointing upwards, while the left falls losely by the side. Underneath is an inscription of some kind, the first two lines of which are all but obliterated—the stone showing evident signs of a fire having been kindled upon it—but the third and bottom lines are plainly visible. The inscription, so far as can be made out, is as follows:—

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                                        ANIBUS
VE NIC                    NCoNISH (or R) LIA
ANNORVM  XXX  .  COC (or OO) RNOVIA
H     .   S    .    E    .
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The last are apparently only initial letters of some well-known words, probably "hic sepulta est,"—is here interred. The first letters of the third line, "Annorvm xxx." would indicate the age of the deceased, thirty years, but the other portion is uncertain. Photographs of the stone have been taken, and "rubbings" sent to various well-known authorities on antiquarian matters, including Dr. Bruce (of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), author of "The Roman Wall;" Mr. J. Romilly Allen; Mr. G. W. Tomlinson (secretary of the Yorkshire Archæological Society), who re-forwarded it to Mr. Thompson-Watkin. Mr. Holmes, from information sent him, thinks that it is a Roman monumental stone, and bears some resemblance to that found in Ilkley some time since, and given in Wardell's "Historical Notes of Ilkley, Rombald's Moor," &c. Mr. Allen is also of a similar opinion, and Dr. Bruce, though not giving a decided opinion, thinks it is a funeral stone, and that the inscription will probably begin with the letters D.M. (*diis manibus*), to the Gods of the shades. Next would follow the name of the deceased, who would appear to have lived thirty years, from the inscription ANNORVM XXX., and he thought he could also see words CON *jux*. The letters in the last line H S E (*hic situs est*) were plain enough. Further excavations have been made in the hope that something else might be discovered; but nothing of moment has been come upon.

Leeds Mercury.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURGH.

SYMEON of Durham assigns the battle to a place called "Weondune" or "Ethanwercke." Now these names of Weondune or Ethanwercke look as if they had been taken down by Symeon from some verbal description of the battle, and appear to have been spelled by him phonetically, in accordance with the sound conveyed to his ear. Does

not "Weondune" mean "Weighton," and "Ethanwercke" "earthen-work." The latter word in Symeon's phonography represents pretty closely the way in which it would still be pronounced by an East Riding rustic. Now Little Weighton and its neighbourhood are, and always have been, notorious for their extensive earthworks, mounds, &c., and for their abundant springs of water. It stands, too, on the way or path that in Roman times, and for long subsequently, led from Brough on the Humber, to York, to Beverley, and to Wawne Ferry; hence its name Weighton. All places bearing that name are so called from being situated on some ancient way or path, from the Anglo-Saxon "weig" (a way), and "ton" (a town); therefore the way-side town. Again, was not Brunanburgh (with the omission of the final "g") the name by which the Ancient Britons designated Weighton? The Cymric, Celtic, or Welsh, it is known, was the language of most of the tribes of Britain. In the Welsh, the letter "u" is pronounced like our "oo" in poor, the letter "y" like "u" in fun. Thus, the word "Brwynen" (a path) is pronounced "Broounen;" and if we add "burg" to it we have "Brunenburgh," the way or path town, answering to the Saxon Weighton, or way-town. The word burg or borough, however, is not a Welsh but a Gaelic word, and I hold it to be contrary to the sound principles of philology to endeavour to derive the name of a town, river, or mountain from words of two different languages. So I apprehend that "burg" has not been the true termination of the word, but "bur," pronounced "boor," this being the Welsh and Ancient British for an intrenchment or intrenched camp; thus Brunenboor would be the British name for the earthworks, intrenchments, &c., on the path or way from Brough to Beverley, at the place the Saxons called Weighton.

That Brunenboor was also, in Saxon times, the pronunciation of the name of the place where the battle was fought, may be seen from the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, where the word is spelt Brunenburh. Have we not in Little Weighton found Brunanburgh? The author of the old Norse poem, "Egils' Saga," describes the battle-field as a rough open space, with a forest of trees, scrubs or bushes, such as furze, juniper, broom, &c., affording shelter to the fugitives. He also states that a certain town stood towards the north, and that downs or brakes lay between the forest and some river. The battle-field is also described as a plain, which was filled with the dead bodies of the slain. In the parish of Skidby, north of Cottingham, and south of the liberty of St. John of Beverley, about half a mile south of Little Weighton—the Brunanburgh of my hypothesis—four miles from Brough, and between five and six miles south-west of Beverley, there is on the high Wolds a large sheep-farm, part of which has been called from time immemorial "the plain." This plain is of considerable extent, and at an elevation of some three hundred feet above the sea-level. It overlooks a fine open country, has the town of Beverley on the north, and downs or brakes between it and the river Humber on the south. The plain on the south towards the Humber, looking westwards, has a somewhat rapid descent

into an adjacent valley, from which again rise hills to the south and west, through and along which is the old Roman road from Brough on the Humber to York, Beverley, and Wawne Ferry. The earthworks extending from Brough to beyond Little Weighton enclose these hills within their line. Along the whole extent of "the plain" long trenches are found in every direction, in which the remains of many thousands of bodies of men and horses, the remnants of leather belts, accoutrements, iron-bossed shields, dresses, armour, &c., have been from time to time, and are still, found. The quantity of remains found in these trenches was formerly so large as seriously to interfere with the marling operations of the farm. The trenches are in parallel lines, about seven feet deep, and nine feet in diameter at the top. They were first discovered on digging pits for chalk. How completely this fact illustrates those lines of Dryden :—

> Then, after length of time, the labouring swains,
> Who turn the turf of these unhappy plains,
> Shall rusty pikes from the ploughed furrows take,
> And over empty helmets pass the rake.

The dead, evidently having been too numerous for burial in the ordinary way, even on fields of battle, were gathered in masses and burnt in these long trenches. At the bottom of each trench was found three inches of charcoal and about twelve inches of bone-earth, bones, &c. Was it on this "plain" that the Battle of Brunanburgh was fought? In support of this suggestion we have—(1) The fact that 944 years after the battle it is still filled with the dead bodies of the slain; (2) there are woods around it; (3) there is a certain town (Beverley) to the north; and (4) a river (the Humber) to the south. Besides these facts, there are other circumstances in connection with "the plain" which carry us back to the fight. One hill, westward of Anlaff's intrenchments, and overlooking the valley, is known as "Rush Hill," significant of the retreat of the defeated army, and after their being pursued by a rush of their enemies down the hill to their fleet at Brough. On the west of Rush Hill are "Westanwoods," derived from the Saxon words denoting waste, ravage, and violence. Again, we have "Thickerdales," derived from the Saxon word denoting the lance, spear, or pike, and signifying, as the late Mr. Edward Witty, of Cottingham thought, the station of Athelstan's lancers or spearmen. We find, in another part of the plain, "the Cowlers," derived from the Saxon word denoting freemen; and this may have been the station of the Saxon bowmen or spearmen. There is also, in another part of the plain, "the Blackery," derived from the Saxon word signifying to shine, dazzle, glitter; denoting, it may be, the quarters of the West Saxon and Northumbrian warriors. Then we have "the Hindercroft," where, we may presume, the Saxon reserve was posted. Midway between the two camps, and in the centre of the plain, we meet with "the Stripes," derived from the Anglo-Saxon word denoting contest, battle, &c; and here we may fairly presume the first great shock of the battle took place. Again, we have "Beatrix Garth," derived from a Saxon

word denoting fighter or champion; and beyond Beatrix Garth, but just outside the earthworks, we find a field called "Hell Garth." It must be borne in mind that five kings were slain in this battle, amongst whom was Howel Dha, the most famous of the Welsh kings of his time. About a mile from the plain, in a south-westerly direction—and on the edge of what, a few years ago, was a very large wood called "Socken Wood" —there is a large hill and tumulus, ninety feet high, called to this day Howel, or Howe Hill.* The word "Socken" denotes a refuge or sanctuary. Did Athelstan raise this monument to the memory of his foe, the amiable Welsh king, and those of his nobles who were slain in this famous battle? Howel or Howe Hill tumulus was opened some years since, and the remains of many hundreds of skeletons were exposed, besides portions of iron-bossed shields, arms, and the like. Again, in a line north-west of Howel, or Howe Hill, and at a short distance from the line of earthworks, is an enclosed place called "the Lion's Den," near to which there was another large tumulus (removed about seventeen years ago), in which a large quantity of human remains, shields, and other relics were found. The site is, however, still visible. Was this "Lion's Den" the head-quarters of the "lion-hearted" king of the Scots, and the adjoining tumulus the burial-place of his fair-haired son, and those of his nobles who so gallantly died on the field of Brunanburgh to save him from the sharp sword of the Chancellor of England? Two woods yet bound the plain, the one called "Warnutts" and the other "Backaties;" and close to these are fields called "Loscars" denoting destruction, or ambuscade. Are these the woods from whence Anlaff's troops surprised and drove back Athelstan's forces, when the famous sea-king Thorolf fell a victim to his impetuosity? The names of the surrounding villages are derived from incidents of the battle. There is yet another large tumulus between Braffords House and Waudby Wood, which the late Mr. Thompson says was possibly the burial-place of some great chief slain in the battle when Athelstan defeated the allied armies "on the plains of the high ground," Was it, then, the burial-place of the other four kings slain at this famous fight? To the north-east of the Saxon camp, in the parish of Cottingham, there was accidently opened, a few years ago, another tumulus; the burial-place we may presume, of one of Athelstan's famous warriors, slain in the battle or who died in the neighbourhood. The deceased must have been a man whom it was the king's delight to honour, because near his remains were found two very fine massive golden bracelets, such as Athelstan gave to his favourite officers as an acknowledgment of their valour. One of these bracelets was recovered, and forwarded by the late Mr. Bethel Jacobs to the trustees

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*There must not be confusion arising from these names. Howe-hill is a redundancy; *howe* being derived from the Danish *haugr* meaning a hill or mound. The fact that the mound received the Danish generic name is perhaps evidence of its pre-Danish existence, and so far may support the theory that it is a relic of the battle. —*Ed.*

of the British Museum, who rewarded the rustic finder with twenty guineas, and the bracelet is now in their collection. The other bracelet was never recovered. Would this be the burial place of that famous sea-king, Thorolf, who, sailing by Flanders in the preceding autumn, heard of Athelstan's proclamation, and came with Egils, and offered his services; behaving, as we have seen, in the battle with so much courage and valour on the side of the quarrel to which he had given in his adhesion? As to the other sea-king Egils, it would appear that the quiet life Athelstan's subjects passed in England, during the remainder of his reign, did not suit him; and we read that the ship in which he left England carried one hundred men or more.

C. S. TODD, F.S.A.

From the Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement.

THE SITE OF THE BATTLE.

There is hardly any great and well-known historical event in the remote past of Yorkshire which deserves more the attention of local archæologists, on account of the uncertainty of its site, than the battle of Brunanburgh, and many will welcome the effort made by Mr. C. S. Todd to settle the matter. I have read his remarks with interest and care, but having formerly given some consideration to the question without any local bias, I feel I am not quite convinced by his very plausible pleading in behalf of Little Weighton, near Beverley, as the scene of the memorable conflict. This fight, the decisive Waterloo of the Ante-Senlac era, has given occasion for much speculative writing by antiquaries, and it is curiously interesting to observe that, when the identification has been made, historians *overlook* the fact. Mr. Green, in his "History of the English People," makes no attempt to identifiy the site. Miss Edith Thompson, in the "History of England," issued under the editorial supervision of Mr. E. A. Freeman, says, "the site is somewhere north of the Humber." Archdeacon Churton, in his pleasing "Early English Church," identifies the site with Brunton (on-the-Wall), Northumberland, and quotes Professor Bosworth as agreeing with his views, both taking it to be the *Broninus urbs* of Eddy's "Life of St. Wilfrid." Thus we may go on quoting from moderns.

Of the old writers, Sharon Turner, who, in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," has fully examined the subject, apparently leans to "Brunton." Dr. Giles accepts Brumby; Ingram places the site as on the Trent; Gibson, Brunburh, or Bunbury, in Cheshire. Brinkburn, in Northumberland, is accepted by John of Hexham, and by Camden and Tymms. Still earlier, Ethelward calls the place Brunandune; Simeon of Durham, Wendune, in Northumberland; William of Malmesbury and Ingulph de Croyland, name it Brunsford, or Brunford; Florence of Worcester accepts Brunanburh; Geoffree Gaimar writes Bruneswerce, Brunswest, and Brunewerche. In the "Annales Cambriæ," and also in the "Brut y Tywysagion," we find "Bellum Brune," or "The Battle of the Brune." Camden's "Britannia" specifies Brumford, near

Brumridge, in Northumberland. Other places are Brunboro' in Cheshire; Banbury (Oxon); Burnham and Bourne, in Lincolnshire; Brownedge, in Lancashire; and Broomridge or Brinkburn, in Northumberland. We gather from the "Saxon Chronicle" that the events leading to the occasion of the conflict arose as follows:—After Alfred's decease, Athelstane, his "golden-haired grandson," found in ascending the throne, that he was not seated on a "bed of roses." Scotland and Northumbria had to be subdued. Cumberland, then a subordinate kingdom attached to Scotland, gave him trouble to incorporate with England, and Ireland became a recruiting ground for the Danes. Wales had been compelled to acknowledge Athelstane as her supreme lord.

Another writer Mr. A.S. Ellis says.—The battle-stead has been thus very widely placed by various writers, and all accounts, unfortunately, furnish scarcely any available geographical data. Only one place has been found with a name sufficiently resembling Brunanburgh; that is Bromborough, in Cheshire, and Gibson first suggested this was the site, but it is altogether unlikely. Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, daughter of King Alfred, founded the burg of "Brunesburg" and a monastery there, as we learn from Leland and Henry of Huntingdon. This refers to the above place, and its spelling is the same as some instances of the name of the battle. The spurious Ingulph says the battle was fought at Brunford, in Northumberland, and it is the earliest attempt to locate this great fight. In a book recently published, with a most deceptive title, "York and York Castle," the battle is still referred to Bromford, in Northumberland! Camden thought it was at Ford, near Bromeridge, in that county. Brumby, near the Trent, in North Lincolnshire, has been named; also, I believe, Benningbrough, beyond York; as well as Brough, on the Humber. The editor of Bohn's edition of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," most unwarrantably alters "Brunanburn," in the Song, to Brumby. So much for mere speculation. Mr. Freeman is content to say, "Brunanburh was somewhere in the north, but no one knows exactly where." One fatal objection to Little Weighton is the fact that it is not far enough inland for the pursuit and slaughter of the Danes after the victory to have lasted two days before they could regain their ships. After giving a good deal of thought to this problem, I have come to the conclusion that the suggestion of Mr. Skene, in his learned work on "Celtic Scotland" (Vol. I., p. 357) is the best, that this memorable battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Aldborough, near Boroughbridge. "It unites," he says, "almost all the conditions required for the site. . . . The burg south of the heath, and occupied by Athelstan, could not have been York, which was too well known not to be mentioned by name; it may have been Knaresborough. At Aldborough (Isurium) four roads met. The Scots would advance by one of the northern routes, the Danes of Dublin and the Cambrians by the great highway which led from Cumberland by Catterick." These Danes probably would come by the Roman way from the Mersey or the Ribble, northward of Ilkley. It is certain some trysting-place had been settled

upon, and that the meeting from various quarters had taken place. Anlaf must have come up the Ouse in his ships, but hardly past York, as Mr. Skene suggests. The Norse Saga says that the two armies met at Vinheidi (Vinheath), by Vinnskodi (*i.e.* Vin-Skov, shaw or wood) that King Olaf (Anlaf) occupied a borg north of the heath, with the greater part of the army encamped on the heath, between the wood and the river; and that south of the heath was another borg occupied by King Athelstane's army. Vinheidi is doubtless the same as the Weondune of Simeon, and Brunanburh, the Duinbrunde of the Pictish Chronicle. If Mr. Skene's solution of the problem be admitted, we must look for some heath or moor between Knaresborough, the burg on the south, and Aldborough, formerly simply Burg, the borg on the north.* I have not sufficient knowledge of the neighbourhood to form an opinion. Perhaps Duil Cross and tumulus may have had something to do with the battle, the grave perchance of the Welsh Prince Idils, who fell in the struggle. "Idils" of the Saga was probably Idwal Voel, who was killed by the Saxons; but the Welsh chronicles give the date 941. Mr. Todd must be mistaken about Howel. I have an idea that "Brunanburgh" was the name borne at the time by Burgh or Aldborough, by reason of its destruction by fire by the Danes in 766, and subsequent desolation. Although this fact is only preserved by a late chronicler, Higden, it is very likely to be true. Brunanburgh then meant the burnt burgh. This battle was probably the occasion on which "Athelstan came with the whole army to the church of St. Wilfrid in Ripon," as recorded in a MS. seen there by Leland. We may presume there was a grand thanksgiving service for the victory vouchsafed to him. The MSS. in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum contain the prayer of Athelstan before the battle, commencing—"O Thou Supreme Governor! O Thou Almighty God! O King of all kings and Lord of all rulers! All victory dwelleth in Thy power, and every battle happeneth according to Thy governance," &c.

An Irish chronicle, "The Annals of Clonmacnoise," says this battle was fought on the plain of Othlyn, which suggests Gilling, near Richmond, the Getling (Ingethlingum) of Bede, where King Oswin was killed in 651. This is a likely locality, near the junction of two Roman roads, and not far from Catterick, a royal town; in this case another Aldborough might have been the burg to the north of the heath, and Sedbury the borg to the south. Othlyn may mean Watling, and refer only to a heath crossed by a Roman road so called, Watling Street being almost a general designation in those days for a Roman road. It

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*These statements as to the place-names must be taken with hesitancy. Boroughbridge was anciently called "the Burgh," and what is much more to the present purpose it was also called Pundeburg. The letters B and P were readily interchangeable. Have we then in Pundeburg a relic of the Great Old Battle, and at the same time the reason of being of a curious name? This probability may be strengthened by the article on Knaresborough which follows.

was not Constantin, King of Alban, who was killed in the battle, as constantly stated, but his son-in-law, Anlaf "Curran," the son of a different person from Anlaf of Dublin. My interest in the battle was first awakened by Sharon Turner's graphic description and the Norse Saga.

As a further contribution bearing on the battle: —

It shows shrewd prescience in the greatest of our early kings, noting in his grandson "the future hopes of England," when he selected Athelstane as his successor, for in the latter were found the very qualities needed for governing the numerous and contentious people of these lands. One ruler after another was encountered, and that victoriously, and there was internal peace within the whole realms. Occasion for an external rupture arose under these circumstances. Sihtric, the son of Mawar, and grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, ruled then in Northumbria, and Athelstane, in the early part of his reign, wisely allied himself with Sihtric by giving him his sister to wife.

Sihtric was tainted with a blood-loving ferocity apparently then inherent in the Danish race, and, Herod-like, had murdered his own brother. Irish history perpetuates this king's name for his piratical depredations on that "green isle." On his marriage, as often happened, and in all probability Athelstane had stipulated he should do, he was baptized. Repenting his conversion, he put away his wife, and relapsed into idolatry. Athelstane marched to punish him, but, ere he invaded Northumbria, Sihtric died. The sons of Sihtric, Anlaf and Godfrid, were driven into exile, whereupon Athelstane annexed the province to the rest of his kingdom. During the struggle Ealdred lost Bebbanburh, and Anlaf's stronghold at York was demolished. The King subsequently penetrated into Scotland, as far as the Highlands, while his fleet ravaged the coast to beyond Caithness. Anlaf fled to Dublin, where he was acknowledged chief by the Anglo-Danes there, who were very numerous in the east of Ireland; and Godfrid, after fleeing to Constantine, King of Scotland, escaped from that Court, and betook himself to a life of piracy on the seas. All these subjugated kings felt that, as the bundle of sticks exemplified, if they were no match singly against Athelstane, they might, by confederation, prove victorious. So from the Baltic States to Holland's flats, Hibernia's bogs, Scotia's hills, and Cumbria's fells, were soon moved hosts of warriors. Ireland, being near, and having skilled Danish *jarls* and sailors, accustomed to descents upon Albion's shores, became the rendezvous of the rebellious and piratical hordes. Thorolf and Egils, two eminent Vikings, sailed, with 300 men, from Flanders to join Anlaf at Dublin. This chieftain at once, in the autumn of 927, ascended the Humber with 615 ships. Gudrek and Alfgeirr, Athelstane's governors in the northern province, were overpowered. The former fell, and the latter hastened to his king with the terrible tidings of the great invasion. Like a true hero, Athelstane's courage rose with the occasion, and he prepared, without delay, nay, with all energy, to drive the invader back, and magnanimously offered—

while still retaining Northumbria—to allow the invader to depart safely, provided he returned the plunder he had secured already, and became a vassal. These terms Anlaf rejected with scorn. Nevertheless, Palgrave states, "he yet feared to make an attack, and, in the close of the day, disguised himself as a harper, and entered the Saxon camp, but he, on retiring, was identified by a Scald who had formerly served under him, and who, but too late for the securing of Anlaf, gave notice of the visit to Athelstane. Anlaf resolved to attack in the night. So, ordering the Welsh and Danish leaders, Adalis and Hyrrgyr, to commence by an onslaught upon Athelstane's right wing, commanded by Thorolf and Alfgeirr, they marched on the Saxon camp, when a preliminary conflict began, in which the general results were unfavourable to Athelstane, who lost two of his best Generals—Werstan, Bishop of Sherborne, and Hyrrigr; Adalis also retreated. Anlaf set his hopes upon gaining the victory by night attacks, and for these, learning the position of Athelstane's tent, he assaulted the Saxon King, but was driven off. Athelstane now saw the mettle of his opponents, and he prepared himself accordingly. A day or two's rest ensued. Athelstane first arrayed his forces by placing his bravest troops, under Egils, in front. Thorolf led his own, being opposed to the "wild Irish." The brave Turketul led the warriors of Mercia and Middlesex. The King himself headed his favourite West Saxons.

Brunanburgh, which, says Phillips ("Yorkshire"), saw "three nations crushed, had no fixed place, and no settled name," was the scene of the battle, which Thorolf began, and who, pressing too eagerly forward, was slain by Adalis, but was quickly avenged by Egils, who turned and slew Adalis. Then Turketul gathered a chosen band of London citizens and Worcestershire levies, the latter under the magnanimous Singin, and with these he pierced through the ranks of Picts, Orkneymen, Cambrians, and Scots; and, after a hard contest, Constantine, the King of the Grampian Hills, was slain by Singin, whereupon panic ensued amongst the Northerners. Athelstane and his brother Edmund were hotly engaged with Anlaf, and the former in the *melèe* had his sword broken at the hilt, but, being soon supplied with another,, smote his enemies "hip and thigh." At this critical juncture, Egils and Turketul fell upon the flank of Anlaf's army, and the victory was complete. Anlaf fled. The eyes of all Europe, and the praises of all men, were now upon and given to Athelstane, who was accounted the greatest warrior of the age; and as customary, poesy and music soon recorded his noble deeds. The effect of this, the greatest Anglo-Saxon victory, was such that, says Palgrave, the "sisters of Athelstane shared in the estimation he acquired. Otho, son of Henry, Emperor of Germany, sought the hand of one, and another married Louis, Duke of Aquitaine." Phillips says "that to St. John of Beverley, Athelstane offered the sword which he had waved at Brunanburgh;" and at 'Eamot' (river's mouth) he made peace with his humbled enemies." (See index to Phillips's "Yorkshire.") In Great Driffield Church, just restored,

lies the eminent St. John of Beverley, where there is a fine monument and effigy over the tomb.

Brayley says that "in Bishop's Stortford parish church window (west) is a picture of Athelstane" (p. 117). The Salt Library at Stafford contains a charter of Athelstane's 937. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1880.)

Now, the question arises, Where is Brunanburgh? The late talented Lancashire antiquary, T. T. Wilkinson, published a paper, to which we are in this article much indebted, for "the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society," 1857, in which he gave, as the result of his investigations in the case, his conviction that the probable scene of the immediate battle-ground was his own native town of Burnley. We will select a few points in his identification. First, Burnley is, properly, Brunley. The river on which it stands is the Brun. The late Rev. T. D. Whitaker, who—curiously enough, neither in his "Whalley" nor "Craven," names Brunanburgh—gives in the map of Whalley parish the spelling as Brunley. Secondly, the whole neighbourhood, as is well known, swarms with evidences of British, Roman, Saxon, and Danish remains, &c. There is a remarkably large fortification at Castercliffe, this locality having evidently been the key of this part of Lancashire, and so would not be overlooked by the *after* invaders. There is a line of forts stretching from Colne (close by) to Manchester. At Shelfield was a large round encampment. A similar one is at Ring Stones Hill. At Broad Bank is another, overlooking the Vale of Thursden (Thorsden). Another is found at Bonfire Hill, on the opposite slope. Pikelaw and Beadle Hill speak for themselves. Twist Castle was a strong, square camp. Ring Stones Camp and Worsthorn are traditionally declared to contain in their tumuli the remains of Hyrrgyr and the other five Kings. The Red Lees Entrenchments, High Law, Oliver Hill, Easden Fort, Thievely Pike, Old Dyke, and Broadclough Dyke, are all significant names. Worsthorn may be "Werstan's Hurne," thus perpetuating the memory of the fighting prelate. But Saxifield, *i.e.*, Saxonfield, where there are evidences of a gigantic conflict in the great numbers of human remains from time to time discovered on its slope, affords still stronger reason for identification. And in 1815, Whitaker tells, the mounds were uncovered, and, perhaps, Alric's* grave may be here. No find of coins has aroused greater interest than that at Cuerdale. Mr. Wilkinson, owing to the moneys themselves, aptly conjectures they were the treasure lost by Anlaf after his defeat. In all probability, as as he made his way up the Humber, and along the basin of the Swale and the Aire (there is a road from Halifax to Colne which is known as as the "Danes' Way"), he crossed the Pennine through the Gorge of Cliviger (Cleavager), *per* the Yorkshire or East Calder, into the basin of the Lancashire or West Calder, in which Burnley stands.

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*This "Alric" was a king slain during the Penda conflicts earlier.

Along the Fylde district, "which stretches from the Wyre at Fleetwood to the Mersey at Liverpool, is a road—the Danes' Pad;" and broken vessels, with other Danish relics, have been numerously discovered within it. It may, perhaps, have been Anlaf's way to Ireland after his defeat.

Mentioning the facts recorded in Mr. Wilkinson's paper to the late Rev. R. N. Whitaker, Vicar and Rural Dean of Whalley (the son of Dr. Whitaker), he informed us that he had himself discovered Alric's grave (one of the Kings). We believe that the late Rev. Canon Raines, Vicar of Milnrow, Rochdale, and the late Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., whose seat at Gawthorpe Hall, Padiham, lies on the site, were satisfied with the identification proposed by Alderman Wilkinson: "The transition from Brunford to Brunuley, Burnley, Brunanley, and Brunanburh, is not a violent one."—(Wilkinson.)

Alric's grave, we understand from the late Vicar of Whalley, was in or near Ribchester, the camp of the famous Roman Tenth Legion, and from whence they could overawe the whole of Northumbria. Cliviger, Dr. Whitaker states, had not a sheep fence within it till long after the century had begun.

Lastly, Warcock Hill, close by, speaks for itself. Every one knows that the Danes carried standards with figures or paintings of beasts, birds, &c. Ravensburgh, Ravensthorpe, and Ravenscliffe, in York, probably perpetuate the erection of the dreaded Danes' Raven standard

Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement.

YORK CATHEDRAL, FROM STONEGATE.

ECCLESIASTICAL

DIOCESAN HISTORY OF YORK.

IT was a happy thought which a year or two ago occurred to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of issuing a series of histories of the several dioceses of England and Wales. In every diocese the appearance of its history has been awaited with considerable interest, and in no case more so than in Yorkshire. And with good reason: for the history of the archbishopric of York is the history of England. The bishopric of York was founded in 627, two hundred years before King Egbert united the Heptarchy; it became an archbishopric in 732. The city had existed for many centuries before the see came into existence. Eboracum was selected by the Roman Cæsars as their British dwelling-place; but the Romans had long left our country when Paulinus taught Christianity in the kingdom of Northumbria and became the first bishop of York. Those were fierce and troubled times. The newly-planted religion was more than once in danger of being swept away, as had been the case long before, when the British race and Christianity together had been driven into Wales and Cornwall. Paulinus himself was forced to flee after only six years' episcopate, and then for thirty years York was left without a bishop. At the end of that period, in 664, the see was for a while under the care of St. Chad, who afterwards became famous as the first bishop of Lichfield. He was succeeded, in 669, by St. Wilfrid, one of those eminent persons whose characters undergo so much discussion by historians in after ages, and whose just position in the scale of virtue is so difficult to determine. By some writers Wilfrid is held up to admiration as a saint and hero, whilst others regard his memory with abhorrence.

Canon Ornsby, who writes the Diocesan History of York, takes an impartial view, and represents Wilfrid as arrogant, obstinate, and hot-tempered, but full of earnest zeal in the cause of religion and liberty. He never spared himself in endeavouring to provide the ministrations of religion for every part of his vast diocese. He was in many ways a great

builder-up of the Church in the North of England. Wilfrid built a Minster at Ripon, of the splendour of which glowing accounts are given, and he presented for its use a magnificent copy of the Gospels written in golden letters upon purple vellum. This book was long preserved as one of the most precious treasures of Ripon Minster. He also repaired, improved, and endowed the dilapidated edifice in York which in subsequent ages was to be known throughout the world as York Minster. The dioceses of the early Saxon bishops were of enormous extent, being generally co-extensive with the kingdoms in which they were established. Wilfrid's diocese of Northumbria was deemed too large by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who accordingly planned its division, a piece of interference which was resented by Wilfrid. However, the diocese was sub-divided, and in 735 the great Egbert, Bishop of York, assumed the rank of Primate of the Northern Province, from which time the *Arch*bishopric of York is dated. The historian Bede died in that year; it is from him that we gain our knowledge of the establishment and progress of Christianity in Northumbria. Space forbids justice being done in this notice to the memory of the many great and good prelates who occupied the see of York through stormy times until the Norman Conquest, and to whose virtues and abilities we owe it that Christianity was upheld as a power in the land amidst the difficulties and dangers which often threatened its existence.

"One effect of the Norman Conquest was a change as regarded the appointment of bishops. They were no longer of Saxon or Danish blood. Most of the English prelates were removed from their sees, and their places filled by Norman ecclesiastics. The days were passed when a bishop could nominate his successor, and the policy of the Conqueror was utterly adverse to the people having any share in the election of their chief pastor." The late Mr. J. R. Green tells us of the strictness with which William I. enforced his royal supremacy over the Church. "Homage was exacted from bishop as from baron. No royal vassal could be excommunicated without the King's license. No synod could legislate without his previous assent and subsequent confirmation of its decrees. No Papal letters could be received within the realm save by his permission. He firmly repudiated the claims which were now beginning to be put forward by the court of Rome." There is reason for thinking that the first Norman Archbishop of York was a son of the Conqueror. His name was Thomas of Bayeux. When he came to York, he found the Minster a blackened ruin, and had to restore it. Only three of the seven canons were left to carry on the services of the Cathedral; he added to them a dean, a chancellor, a treasurer, and a precentor. He also revived the office of archdeacon. A century later, a son of King Henry II. was made archbishop, although well known to be a worldly-minded man, altogether unfit for the post. After him came the famous Walter de Gray in 1216, who for forty years ruled the diocese well and wisely. It is interesting to notice that, in many respects, diocesan work was conducted six centuries ago as it is to-day.

Gray was no autocrat. He took his clergy into his councils, and a diocesan synod was held twice a year, much useful work being also done by the ruri-decanal chapters. The archdeacons' visitations were stern realities. The churches were inspected, dilapidations being also assessed, and inquiries made as to the proper performance of divine service. The clergy were required to entertain the archdeacon and suite, whence perhaps arose the visitation fees which are not yet quite a thing of the past.

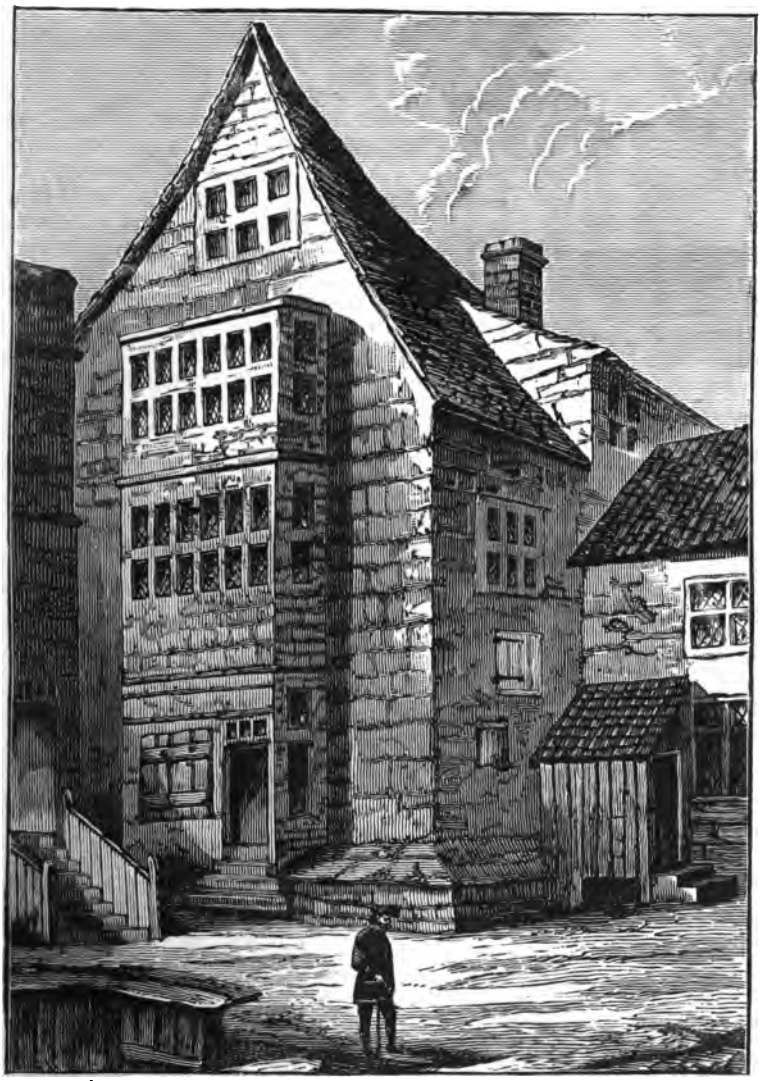
Convocation also was an active power for good in those days, and in important matters affecting the Church at large the two Convocations of the Northern and Southern Provinces met together for joint deliberation. In Gray's archiepiscopate the question of clerical celibacy comes into prominence. Numbers of the clergy were married. Thomas II., who became Archbishop of York in 1108, was the legitimate son of the first Norman Bishop of Worcester. The worst of the practice was that it led to benefices becoming hereditary in families. A greater abuse than this was the intrusion, through Papal influence, of foreigners into the English Church. They got the best benefices in Yorkshire, and the stalls in York Minster. The people protested, and at last broke out into riot, against so monstrous a state of things.

Archbishop Gray kept a register, from which we learn a great deal about the diocese in his time. It is astonishing what a number of hospitals were established. There was the hospital at Northallerton, bearing date 1244, with provision for a warden and his servant, two foot-boys, three horses, two chaplains, two clerks, a baker, a brewer, a cook, and two scullery-lads; five brethren to attend upon the sick and bedridden, and also three sisters. There were thirteen invalid beds, and thirty poor persons were relieved daily at the gate. Leprosy was a terrible scourge in England then; there were several hospitals for lepers in York, as well as others in other parts of the diocese. Though the population of England was small enough in those days, yet there was terrible overcrowding in the towns, where sanitary arrangements were unknown. During the episcopate of Archbishop Gray, the Franciscan friars settled in England, and made themselves very useful as nurses amidst leprosy and fever. Matthew Paris says they filled the land, dwelling in cities and towns by tens and sevens, having literally no worldly goods of any kind, living of the Gospel. They ate the food and wore the raiment which marked the extremity of poverty; they went about barefooted, showing a pattern to all of the very deepest humility. On Sundays and holydays they issued from their lowly dwellings and offered their services as preachers of the Word of Life in the parish churches. The parochial clergy neglected preaching—these friars were great preachers. Popularity and wealth fast flowed in upon them, and they soon had convents at Hull, Beverley, Scarborough, and other large towns. From the 13th to the 15th century hardly a will was made that did not contain a bequest to the friars. In time their vow of poverty became a dead letter, their popularity departed, and they became the butt of the satirical writers of the

period. Corruptions often crept into the religious houses. Archbishop Wickwaine (1279-1286) set himself to reform them, and found that the Abbot of Selby neither sang mass, nor preached, nor attended chapter, rarely entered the choir, hardly ever heard matins except in bed, and was grossly incontinent. Archbishop Greenfield (1304-1316) had to forbid the holding of markets in Ripon Minster.

We get an interesting glimpse of the cathedral city at this period. It is an expanding city, yet grassy and rural even within the walls. In 1206, a William Fairvex gave a palfrey for having a place of land in York between the demesne of Nicholas de Bugetorp on the left part of the bridge of Huse and the land of the same William and the arch (*archiam*) of the said bridge towards the west, if it be not to the harm of the town. In the same year Laurence de Wilton gave two palfreys for having the king's confirmation of a certain stone house in Cuningestrete in York, which he has of the gift of Robert de Stuteville—a very interesting fact, as showing how the magnates had begun to provide for their residential grandeur. It is the home of many Jews in this city, who are a political and especially a commercial factor in its existence. In 1285, John le Especer (the spicer, Grocer), junior, recovers seizin in the king's court, at York, against Thomas de Berigberg and Adam de Bolingbrok, of two "shopis," with their appurtenances, in York. The houses and "shopis" of the city are almost entirely of wood, buildings of stone being distinctly mentioned when they occur; but they occur very rarely. The Jews' quarter appears to have been sumptuous, and their houses above the average, fitted, indeed, for the town residences of the territorial order who craved for them. In 1291 there had just been a scattering of the Jews; after "the exit" of whom William Vavasour, of Hazelwood, gets the houses in the parish of St. Martin, Conystrete, which had belonged to Bonamy, the Jew. Robert, son of Thomas Ughtred, of Scardeburgh, Robert de Neweland, of York, and Alice, his wife, Wm. de Carleton, citizen of York, and Henry de Doneford, got those belonging to Joce, Moses, and Benedict, sons of Bonamy, in Coneystreet, Micklegate, and Feltergate. The intermural land was being "divided into lots for buildings." In 1302 the king granted to Robert le Mek, of York, a certain place in the city in the pool of Fosse, touching on the north part of the bridge of the same pool lately vacant, but now in part built upon by Robert himself, as it is said with the assent of the citizens. He and his kin were to hold it for ever at a rent of ninepence. Robert was a man of benevolence as well as of substance. In 1316 he made a fine of 100/- for having license of giving a lay fee, in York, to a chaplain for celebrating divine service in the Church of St. Crux, in Fossegate.

The expansion of the city was now shewing decidedly marked tendencies. In 1302 Edward granted to Thomas de Stodleye a place called Dumyngdyk, in York, containing 300 feet, for ever, at a rent of 40d. In 1311 the king granted to the citizens seven of the king's places vacant in that city, viz., two in the street of Skeldergate upon the bank of Use, one called Thursdai-market, one near the church of All Saints,



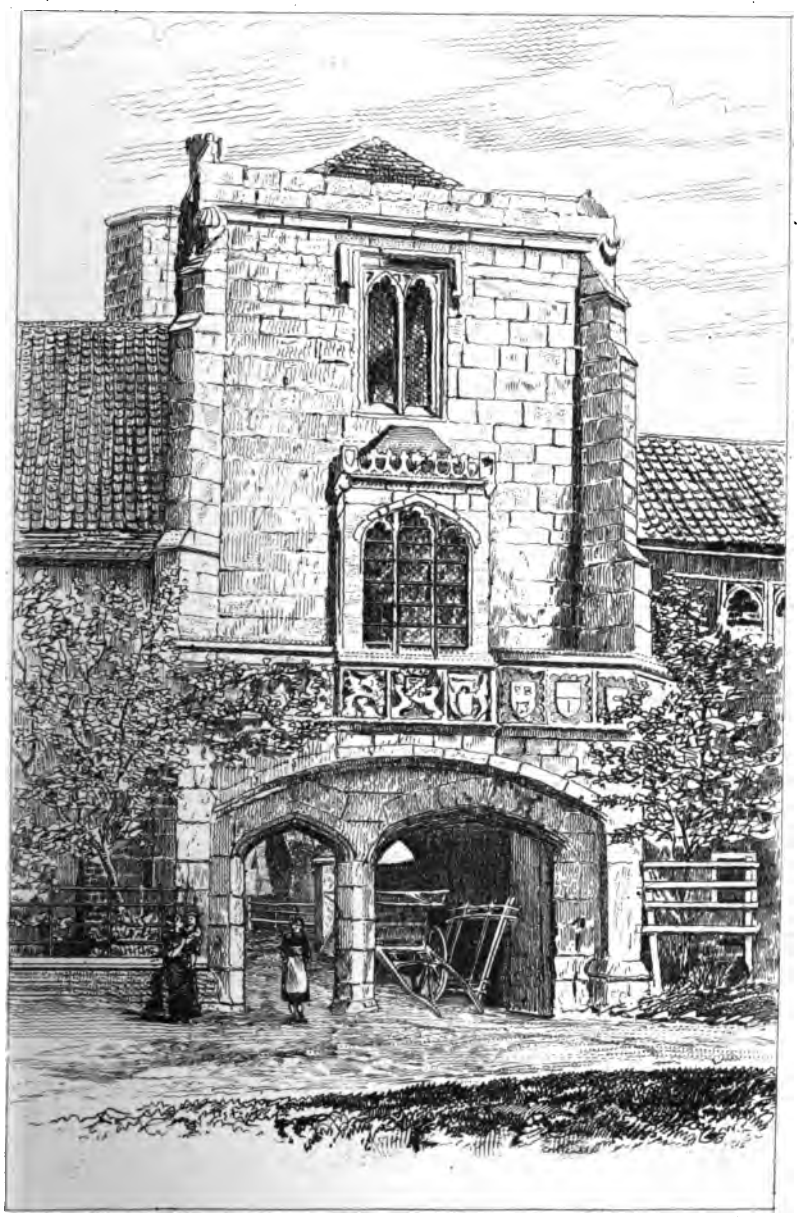
STONE HOUSE AT SCARBOROUGH, A.D. 1480.

Usegate, one called Le Toftes, near the gate of Mikelgate—Toft-green identifies this site—and one in the street of Petergate, in the corner near Deansgate, and one near Christ's Church, in Conyngesgarth, to have for 2/11 rent—that is, at a rent of fivepence each. Richard Tunnock was then acquiring of William the Dean and Chapter, a messuage

with its edifices in Stayngate. The difference between the rule of Edward Longshanks and that of his feeble son is illustrated by the condition of the castle. In 1326 the king greets the Sheriff of York, because by the testimony of the venerable father, William, Archbishop of York, and our Treasurer, we agree that the trestle-bridge (pons treticius) of our Castle of York, and the other bridge adjacent to the same, and also the bridge between the castle and our tower, these, as well as the stockade (bretachium) between the castle and the tower are ruinous and rotten and in great need of repair. The lead upon the great tower is much consumed, and our springalds in the castle are disjointed and similarly in great need of repair, and there are not balistas, bows, nor quarrels or darts for the munition of the castle. The Sheriff is commanded to repair those things. A few years antecedent the Scots were ravaging the country down to the very walls of York. They had planned an attack upon the city, which was frustrated. It was well in the above condition of things that the Castle was not called upon to stand a siege, the result of which could only have been most direful.

In 1349 the great plague came and swept away more than half the population of England; and, when, three years afterwards, Thoresby, a famous Yorkshireman, became Archbishop, he found that numbers of men unfit for the clerical office had been hastily ordained to fill the many gaps which the plague had made. At this time the Pope was striving to thrust foreigners into English benefices. The deanery of York was held by three Romish cardinals in succession, and non-resident foreigners got all the chief places in the church. At last the patience of England came to an end, and the "Statute of Provisors" was passed in 1351, followed by the "Statute of Præmunire," which renders the carrying of a suit or appeal into a foreign court punishable by forfeiture, imprisonment for life, or banishment.

Another famous Yorkshireman became Archbishop at the end of this century, Richard Scrope, whose unhappy end excited strong popular sympathy, and is notable matter of English History. To Cardinal John Kemp, the son of a poor Kentish husbandman, the see is indebted for the preservation of its archiepiscopal fabrics, and especially for the erection of the stately gateway at Cawood Castle.



GREAT GATEWAY CAWOOD CASTLE.

At the close of the century a Dutchman, named Frederic Freez, came and settled in York; he was enrolled on the register of freemen in 1497 as a "bokebynder and stacyoner." He was the first printer in that city, but no book from his press is known at the present day. What is called "the revival of learning" may be said to have commenced in England in that very year, and how greatly printing aided it there can be no doubt. Colet, who, in the early days of his clerical career, was a canon and prebendary of York, may be regarded as the leader of the revival. Subsequently he acquired fame as Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School, London.

Colet was a true reformer. Whilst he despised the gross superstitions which Rome encouraged, his chief aim was to inaugurate a reform of morals, and to cultivate a truly spiritual religion, with which there was no likelihood that Romish immorality and superstition would accord. He was denounced for heresy to King Henry VIII., who replied, "Let every man have his own doctor, but this man is the doctor for me." Shortly afterwards commenced the episcopate of the most famous of all the Archbishops of York; yet, during the seventeen years that he held the see, Wolsey, strange to say, was never in York, and did not even set foot in his diocese until after his fall. In the latter years of his episcopate he held the sees of Durham and Winchester as well. When that great event known in English history as the Reformation came, his successor, Archbishop Lee, renounced the papal authority, and protested that Holy Scripture does not sanction the Pope's exercise of higher jurisdiction than that of any other bishop. This proceeding in 1534 met with general acceptance. It was followed next year by a visitation of the monastic houses throughout England, of the results of which the following concise and judicious summary is given by Canon Ornsby:—

There can be little doubt that the case was made as bad as it could be against the monks. The general condition of the religious houses was better probably than was represented. In some cases the visitors themselves were constrained to express their admiration of the holy, useful, and industrious lives of the inmates of some of the smaller establishments (which yet, almost in the same breath, they had denounced as incurably corrupt), and suggested that it were well that these should be maintained for the benefit of their respective neighbourhoods. It is scarcely credible, moreover, that if the monasteries were such sinks of iniquity as it was sought to make them out, the gentry throughout the country would have cultivated the friendly and neighbourly relations with abbot and prior and monk which they unquestionably did, or that they would have sent their children to be instructed in the schools carried on within their walls. . . . The suppression of the smaller monasteries speedily followed the report given in by the visitors. The Act of Parliament for this dissolution was passed in 1536. Three hundred and seventy-six of these religious foundations fell under this enactment, and their possessions were vested in the Crown. The yearly revenue from their estates was estimated at £32,000, and their goods

and chattels were valued at about £100,000. It was an act which provoked a deep feeling of indignation among the people generally, but most especially in the North of England. The number of religious persons whom it sent adrift in the world was very large. Monks and nuns wandered about the country in all directions, seeking food and shelter from those who sympathised with the pitiful stories they had to tell of being forced out of the home where they had fondly hoped to end their days.* The people witnessed also in many neighbourhoods, the desecration of the churches attached to the monastic houses, sometimes their absolute destruction, and, where this did not take place, their application to the meanest and most ignoble uses. It issued ere long in an insurrection of a very serious character.

Yorkshire played a prominent part in the insurrection, the story of which forms a most interesting chapter in this volume, and is well written by Canon Ornsby. In 1538 the greater monasteries were suppressed. The King gave the abbey lands to his favourites, sold some of them to wealthy merchants, and even the tithes passed into lay hands. Thus many voices which might have raised a powerful protest against the robbery were bribed into silence, and acquiesced in this spoliation for the sake of religious reform. If the suppression of the monasteries had been the outcome of a religious spirit on the part of those by whom it was organised, one result might surely have been looked for, viz., the application of some portion of their great revenues to religious uses. After spoliation came persecution. Two sons of Freez, the York printer mentioned above, were among the victims. Edward Freez had been apprenticed to the printing business, but became a monk. Of the cruelties inflicted on him Foxe gives a terrible account. Valentine Freez, a freeman of York city, was burned together with his wife at Knavesmire for heresy.

During the Commonwealth in the following century, the Church suffered sore persecution. All use of the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden, not only in public worship, but even in private households, under a penalty of £5 for the first offence, and £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third. A large proportion of the loyal clergy were ejected from their benefices and exposed to great privations. Robinson, the vicar of Leeds, was amongst those ejected,

* This statement has been repeated in every variety of form, and under every species of indignation; yet it is not correct. Of the 376 houses suspended in 1536, it is pretty certain that the professed inmates did not number 3000, a most insignificant proportion of the general population; and of these the great majority—nearly the whole—received life pensions perfectly sufficient to keep them above want, sufficient indeed to keep them from a degraded social position. It is perfectly plain to any student of monastic expenditure that the cost of keeping a monk and his system was twice that of supporting a knight and his family; it is equally plain that what the monk gave to the commonwealth, in return for his mode of living, was insignificant. In the whole annals of the English Church, for 500 years, there are not 50 monks who have gained the prominence of their secular contemporaries. *Ed.*

which seems remarkable, for his sympathies were certainly with the Puritans. But he probably did not go far enough; Leeds was a stronghold of the more advanced men of that school. He was replaced by Peter Saxton, who held that benefice from 1646 to 1651. He is worthy of a brief mention on account of an arrangement proposed during his incumbency—possibly at his instance, certainly, as we may presume, with his sanction—for the division of the great parish of Leeds, though it was never carried into effect. The idea was suggested by a commission which was granted for the purpose of surveying and subdividing the great parishes of the north of England, the original reports of which are in the Lambeth library. The object was to break down all distinction between the parish churches and their subsidiary chapels, to form as many parishes as there were places of worship, and to provide a competent maintenance in each for a resident preaching minister. It was a far-sighted and admirable scheme, though projected by men who had little affection for the Church of England, and was a remarkable foreshadowing of a plan which has been carried out in our own day, notably in Leeds, and in other wide and extensive parishes in different parts of England.

The last two centuries of diocesan history, from the Restoration to the present time, are passed over very briefly, and occupy not two dozen pages, which is doubtless owing to the author's laudable desire to compress his work within the limits of a three-and-sixpenny volume. Canon Ornsby has given Yorkshiremen a concise and readable account of the antecedents of our ancient and famous diocese. Some of the chapters which deal with stirring and romantic times are written with skill and vigour and appreciation of the opportunity. Other chapters contain no small amount of ecclesiastical lore put together in an attractive style.

From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post.*

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.

PAULINUS, 625, the Apostle of the Northumbrians; died and was buried at Rochester, October 10th, 644.

CEADDA, 665, previously Abbot of Lastringham; translated to Lichfield; died there, March 2nd, 672.

WILFRED, 669, of an obscure family, but possessing great genius. He retired in 678.

BOSA, 678: retired 685.

WILFRED, restored 686; expelled in 698; died in 709. He founded the Monastery of Ripon, and was buried there.

BOSA restored. Died in 705, and was the first bishop buried in the Cathedral.

ST. JOHN OF BEVERLEY, 705. Retired to Beverley, 718; died May 7th, 721, and was buried there.

WILFRED II., 718. Died or translated 731.

ARCHBISHOPS.

EGBERT, 731. Brother to Eadbert, King of Northumberland, and the friend of Alcuin; died November 13th, 766.

ALBERT or ADELBERT, 767. Died or translated 781; buried at Chester.

EANBALD, 780. Died 796; buried at York.

EANBALD II., 797.

WULFSY, 812. Died 832.

WIMUND, 832. Died 854.

WILFER, 854. The Danish invasion occurring during the time of Wilfer, he fled to Mercia; but was recalled the following year, and died or was translated 892.

ETHELBALD, 895.

REDEWALD, 921.

WULSTAN, 941. This prelate espoused the cause of Anlaff, the Danish King of Northumbria, against Edred, King of England. He was committed to prison by the latter, but was soon released, and restored to office. Died December 26th, 955, and was buried at Oundle.

OSKETELL, 955. Died or translated 971.

ATHELUOLD, 971. Resigned his prelacy the same year, and lived and died in retirement.

OSWALD, 971. He had previously been a monk in the monastery of Floriac, in France, and held the see of Worcester. Died 993; buried at Worcester.

ALDULFE, 992. A pious and worthy prelate. He also held the see of Worcester. Died May 6th, 1002; buried at Worcester.

WULSTAN II., 1002. He also held the see of Worcester. Died May 28th, 1023, and was buried at Ely.

ALFRIC PUTTOC, 1023. Died 1050; buried at Peterborough.

KINSIUS, 1050. A man of great austerity, mostly walking barefoot in his visitations. Died December 22nd, 1060; buried at Peterborough.

ALDRED, 1060; translated from Worcester. He is said to have made his way by bribes, and was the last Archbishop of the Saxon race. Died September 11th, 1069, and was buried at York.

THOMAS, 1070. This prelate was a Norman. He died at Ripon, November 18th, 1100, but was buried at York.

GERARD, 1100; translated from Hereford. He, as well as his predecessor, refused obedience to Canterbury, but at length submitted by command of the Pope; died May 21st, 1108; buried at York.

THOMAS II., 1109; translated from London; died February 19th, 1114; was buried at York.

THURSTAN, 1119. He never submitted to Canterbury, and in his old age retired to a monastery at Pontefract, where he died July 5th, 1139, and was buried.

WILLIAM, 1144; deprived 1147.

HENRY MURDAC, 1148. This prelate was interred in the Cathedral, though, during his life, he never was permitted to enter the city, having quarrelled with King Stephen, whose part the canons and citizens warmly espoused. He lived at Beverley, and died there October 14th, 1153.

WILLIAM, restored 1153. A man of great piety; canonised one hundred and twenty years after his death, which happened on June 4th, 1154; his bones were then removed to the nave of the Cathedral.

ROGER, October 10th, 1154. Supposed to have been concerned in the murder of Thomas à Beckett, but he, by oath, denied the imputation; died November 22nd, 1181, and was buried at York.

GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, translated from Lincoln, 1190; natural son of Henry II. by Fair Rosamond. He died in exile at Grosmont, in Normandy, December 18th, 1212.

WALTER GRAY, translated from Worcester, November 11th, 1215. He paid the Pope ten thousand pounds for his pall, and also purchased the manor of Thorp, now called Bishopthorpe, for the Archbishopric of York; died May 1st, 1255; buried at York.

SEWAL DE BOVIL, 1256. He was excommunicated for opposition respecting the preferment to the ecclesiastical dignities, but received absolution when on his death-bed, which happened May 10th, 1258.

GODFREY DE KINTON, September 23rd, 1258. He appropriated Mexborough to his church, and it has been since that period annexed to the deanery of York; died January 12th, 1264; buried in the Cathedral.

WALTER GIFFARD, translated from Bath and Wells, 1265; died April 25th, 1279; buried at York.

WILLIAM WICKWANE, September 19th, 1279; died August 26th, 1285; buried at Pontiniac.

JOHN LE ROMAYNE, February 10th, 1286; died March 11th, 1295; buried in the Cathedral.

HENRY DE NEWARK, June 24th, 1298; died August 15th, 1299; buried at York.

THOMAS CORBRIDGE, February 28th, 1299; died September 22nd, 1303; buried at Southwell, Nottinghamshire.

WILLIAM DE GRENFIELD, January 30th, 1305; died December 16th, 1315; buried at York. This prelate was obliged to travel to Rome, for the Papal approbation, and to wait two years before he could obtain it.

WILLIAM DE MELTON, September 25th, 1317. A pious and active prelate; died April 5th, 1340; buried at York.

WILLIAM DE LA ZOUCH, July 6th, 1342. Famous for his courage at the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham; died July 19th, 1352; buried at York.

JOHN THORESBY, translated from Worcester, September 8th, 1354. Of an ancient family of Thoresby, near Middleham. In his time the Archbishop of York was made by the Pope Primate of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England, to prevent the disputes which had previously existed between the two. Died November 6th, 1373: buried at York.

ALEXANDER NEVILLE, December 18th, 1374. A favourite of Richard II., and was translated to St. Andrews 1388; but he was obliged to flee from his country, and died May, 1392, an exile, at Louvain, in extreme poverty.

THOMAS ARUNDEL, translated from Ely, March 25th, 1309. He was translated to Canterbury, and died Lord High Chancellor of England, 1396.

ROBERT WALDBY, translated from Chichester, January 13th, 1397. A native of York, and a friar in the monastery of Augustine, in that city. He was a great proficient in all kinds of literature. Died May 29th, 1398; and was buried at Westminster.

RICHARD SCROPE, translated from Lichfield, July 6th, 1398. Betrayed and beheaded for rebellion, June 8th, 1405, and was buried at York.

HENRY BOWETT, translated from Bath and Wells, December 9th, 1405. A very liberal and hospitable man, but not otherwise remarkable: died October 20th, 1423; buried in the Cathedral.

JOHN KEMP, translated from London, April, 1426. A man of humble parentage in Kent, he was translated to Canterbury; he became Lord High Chancellor of England, and a Cardinal of the see of Rome; died 1451; buried at Canterbury.

WILLIAM BOOTHE, translated from Lichfield, September 4th, 1453. Died September, 20th, 1464; buried at Southwell, Nottinghamshire.

GEORGE NEVILLE, translated from Exeter, 1465. This prelate was brother to the famous Earl of Warwick; he was prosperous in his younger days, but on the death of the Earl, at the battle of Barnet, he was accused of treason, imprisoned four years, and died of a broken heart soon after his liberation, June 8th, 1467; his remains were interred at York.

LAWRENCE BOOTHE, translated from Durham, September 8th, 1476. He purchased the Manor of Battersea, in London, and settled it on the Church of York. Died May 19th, 1480; was buried at Southwell, Nottinghamshire.

THOMAS SCOT DE ROTHERHAM, translated from Lincoln, September 3rd, 1480. A native of Rotherham; made Lord High Chancellor, but afterwards committed to prison. He died of the plague, May 29th, 1500, at an advanced age, at Cawood; interred in the Cathedral.

THOMAS SAVAGE, translated from London, April 12th, 1501. Courtier and a sportsman more than an ecclesiastic. Died September 2nd, 1507; buried at York.

CHRISTOPHER BAYNBRIDGE, translated from Durham, September 12th, 1508. Sent Ambassador to the Court of Rome, where he was made a Cardinal; but, having struck his steward, an Italian priest, the man through revenge poisoned him on July 14th, 1514; buried at Rome.

THOMAS WOLSEY, born 1471 at Ipswich. Though of humble origin, by some means a good education was secured him at Magdalen College, Oxford. He afterwards was appointed to the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire. He was appointed chaplain to Henry VII. Being sent on an embassy by the King, he acquitted himself so well that he was appointed in 1508 to the deanery of Lincoln. After Henry VIII. succeeded to the throne, he enjoyed the most unbounded favour, and the influence he thus exerted in the conduct of affairs was such as has seldom been exerted by a subject. He obtained in 1515 the bishopric of Lincoln, and the archbishopric of York. The year following the dignity of Cardinal was conferred on him by the Pope, who not long after appointed him also Legate. The King appointed him Prime Minister and Lord High Chancellor of England. In 1529 he was stripped of all his honours, and driven with ignominy from the Court. Symptoms of relenting showed themselves, however, next year in the mind of the monarch, and it seemed as if Wolsey might be taken into favour. The prospect, as it proved, was delusive. Being at that time in Yorkshire, the archbishopric having been restored to him, along with other of his minor preferments, he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and ordered to be conveyed to London for trial. On his journey he was attacked with dysentery; he died at the monastery of Leicester, November 30th, 1530.

EDWARD LEE, December 10th, 1531. Seized by the insurgents in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and obliged to take an oath of fidelity to them; was afterwards pardoned for this offence. He died September 13th, 1544; buried at York.

ROBERT HOLGATE, translated from Llandaff, January 16th, 1544. A monk friendly to the Reformation, and consequently patronised by Henry. In the reign of Mary his property was seized, and he himself committed to the Tower. He died in obscurity at Hemsworth, near Pomfret, 1553.

NICHOLAS HEATH, translated from Worcester, February 19th, 1555. A learned Roman Catholic priest, to whose exertions the see of York is indebted for the recovery of a great part of its present revenues. He was patronised by Mary, but was deprived of his dignities by Elizabeth in 1558, who, however, respected his merit, and allowed him to retire to his estate at Cobham, where he died and was buried in 1559.

THOMAS YOUNG, translated from St. David's, February 25th, 1561. A disgraceful character, who took down the great hall in the Palace at York, for the sake of the lead which covered it. Died June 26th, 1568; buried at York.

EDMUND GRINDAL, translated from London, June 9th, 1570; advanced to Canterbury 1575; died July 6th, 1583; buried at Croydon.

EDWARD SANDYS, translated from London, January 25th, 1576; died August 18th, 1588; buried at Southwell.

JOHN PIERS, translated from Salisbury, February, 27th, 1588. A learned and pious prelate. Died September 28th, 1594; buried at York.

MATHEW HUTTON, translated from Durham, March 24th, 1594. He was a man of humble origin, but of great merit. Died January 15th, 1605.

TOBIAS MATHEW, translated from Durham, September 11th, 1606. An extempore and eloquent preacher. Died March 29th, 1628; buried at York.

GEORGE MONTAIGNE (Mountain) the son of a small farmer at Cawood, who rose to be Bishop of London, Durham, and Archbishop of York. Translated to York June 6th, 1628; died Nov. 6th, 1628. Fuller says, "He was scarce warm in his church than cold in his coffin." It is related of him that when the see of York became vacant Charles I. had many claimants for it, but was undecided respecting its disposal, and sought the advice of Mountain (then Bishop of Durham). The Bishop modestly answered that if his Majesty had faith like a grain a mustard seed, he would say to this Mountain be thou removed to yonder see, and it would obey. The King replied that miracles had ceased, and asked what had faith to do in this point? To convince your Majesty to the contrary, said the Bishop, be only pleased to say to this Mountain (pointing to himself) be thou removed to yonder See of York, and I am sure your

Majesty will forthwith be obeyed. The King smilingly took the hint, and said, "Then, Mountain, I will remove thee," and accordingly sent him down as Archbishop.

SAMUEL HARSNETT, translated from Norwich, April 23rd, 1629; died May 18th, 1631; buried at Chigwell.

RICHARD NEILE, translated from Winchester, April 16th, 1632. This prelate was of humble origin, but of great merit. Died October 31st, 1640; buried at York.

JOHN WILLIAMS, translated from Lincoln, June 27th, 1642. Whilst he filled the the latter see he wrote a book called "The Holy Table," which gave such offence to Archbishop Laud that he commenced a prosecution against him; he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment and to pay a fine of £10,000. He was liberated in 1640. After receiving the archbishopric of York, he was again imprisoned, with nine other prelates, by order of the Long Parliament. "He will always be memorable in English history," says Lord Campbell, "as the last of a long line of eminent ecclesiastics who, with rare intervals, held for many centuries the highest judicial offices in the kingdom, and exercised a powerful influence over the destinies of the nation." Died March 25th, 1650; buried at Llandegay.

For the ten years during the commonwealth the See was vacant.

ACCEPTED FREWEN, translated from Lichfield, October 11th, 1660. He lived in a state of celibacy, and would not have a female servant. Died March 28th, 1664.

RICHARD STERNE, born at Mansfield, translated from Carlisle. He had been chaplain to Archbishop Laud, whom he attended on the scaffold, and was himself a prisoner in the Tower. Author of a treatise on Logic, and translator of the Polyglot Bible. He had been suspected of being the author of "The Whole Duty of Man." Died June 18th, 1683; buried at York.

JOHN DOLBEN, educated at Westminster School under Dr. Busby, and at Christ Church, Oxford. Translated from Rochester, August 23rd, 1683. He was a soldier in his early days, and served as ensign at the battle of Marston Moor, where he was dangerously wounded by a musket ball, and at the siege of York. There is a fine picture in Christ Church Hall representing Dolben, Till, and Allaston reading the liturgy in private when its use was forbidden by the Parliament. Died April 11th, 1686; buried at York.

THOMAS LAMPLUGH, a staunch supporter of the Church of England, and a liberal benefactor to the Cathedral; translated from Exeter, December 19th, 1688; died May 6th, 1691; buried at York.

JOHN SHARP, 1691, a man of learning, eloquence, and of the most virtuous principles; died at Bath, Feb. 2nd, 1713; buried at York.

SIR WILLIAM DAWES, translated from Chester, March, 24th, 1713. A man of exemplary conduct; died April 30th, 1724; buried in the chapel of St. Catherine's, Cambridge.

LANCELOT BLACKBURN, translated from Exeter, December 10th, 1724; died 1743; buried at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

THOMAS HERRING, translated from Bangor, April 28th, 1743; to Canterbury, 1747; died March 13th, 1757; buried at Croydon.

MATHEW HUTTON, translated from Bangor, December 29th, 1747; to Canterbury, 1757; died March 19th, 1758; buried at Lambeth.

ROBERT HAY DRUMMOND, translated from Salisbury, November 11th, 1761; died December 10th, 1776; buried at Bishopthorpe.

WILLIAM MARKHAM, educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford. Appointed Head Master of Westminster School, 1750; Prebendary of Durham, 1759; Dean of Rochester, 1765; Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, 1767; Bishop of Chester, 1771; and in 1777 translated to the see of York. He died November 3rd, 1807, aged 89; and was interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

EDWARD VENABLES VERNON HARCOURT, born October 10th; educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford. He afterwards became Fellow of All Souls' College, Chaplain to the King, Prebendary of Gloucester, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1791 was appointed Bishop of Carlisle, and was trans-

lated to York January 1808. He died at Bishopthorpe, November 5th, 1847; and was buried at Nuneham Courtney, near Oxford.

THOMAS MUSGRAVE, son of Mr. Peete Musgrave, woollen draper, Cambridge; born 1788, became student of Trinity College 1807, graduated 14th wrangler 1810, elected Fellow of his College, which he held until 1837. He proceeded M.A. in 1813, became Professor of Arabic 1821, Senior Proctor 1831, Incumbent of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge; Bishop of Hereford 1837, translated to York 1847; died suddenly May 4th, 1860. He was held in high esteem by all parties in the province over which he had presided for 13 years.

THOMAS LONGLEY, the fifth son of Mr. J. Longley, Recorder for Rochester; born 1794; educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself in classics. He was appointed Perpetual Curate of Cowley, Oxon, 1823; Rector of West Hants, 1827 to 1829; elected Head Master of Harrow School, in which post he remained till he was appointed the first Bishop of Ripon in 1836. In 1856 he was translated to Durham, on the resignation of Dr. Maltby; on the death of Archbishop Musgrave, to York, in 1860; and, on the death of Archbishop Sumner, in 1862, to Canterbury. He died at Addington Palace, Croydon, October 27th, 1868, aged 72. He was remarkable for his firmness, but ruled with a gentleness which made itself felt everywhere.

WILLIAM THOMSON, the present Archbishop, was born at Whitehaven, in Cumberland, February 11th, 1819; was educated at Shrewsbury, of which he was successively a scholar, Fellow, tutor, and provost. He took the degree of B.A. in 1840; was ordained deacon in 1842, priest in 1843, and was appointed to Guilford and Cuddleston. He became tutor of his College, and was appointed select preacher at Oxford, 1848. In 1853 he was chosen to preach the Bampton Lectures, the subject being the "Atoning work of Christ." In 1855 he was appointed to the Crown living of All Souls, Marylebone, and Provost of his College. In 1856 he was appointed one of the select preachers a second time. In 1858 he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's Inn, which post he held till his elevation to the episcopal bench. In 1859 he was appointed one of Her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. On the translation of Dr. Baring to Durham, he was appointed Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, December, 1861. He did not remain long in that diocese, for, on the death of Archbishop Sumner, Dr. Longley was translated to Canterbury. The archiepiscopal see became vacant, and after some delay the appointment was, contrary to all precedent, conferred on him, November, 1862, who had not been twelve months a Bishop. He was enthroned in York Minster, July 23rd, 1863. His Grace took an active part in promoting the Public Worship Act, and had charge of that measure in the House of Lords. He is the author of "An Outline of the Necessary Laws of Thought," a treatise of pure and applied logic, which is used in several Universities in this country and America as a text-book; "Crime and its Excuses," 1855; "Sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn Chapel," 1861; "Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity in the Province of York, in reference to the decision of the Privy Council in two of the Essays and Reviews," 1864; "Life in the Light of God's Word," 1868; "The Limits of Philosophical Inquiry;" "Seven Years in Charge of the Clergy in the Diocese of York," 1870; "Design in Nature," a lecture delivered at the Christian Evidence Society; articles on Jesus Christ and the Gospels in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." He edited "Aids to Faith," 1861, a series of theological essays, by several writers, in reply to "Essays and Reviews," and he was the projector of the "Speaker's Commentary."

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COWTHORPE AND ITS CHURCH.

ON the banks of the Nidd, and about three miles from Wetherby, stands Cowthorpe, one of the smallest and most obscure villages in Yorkshire. It is still the same tiny settlement of the tillers of the soil it apparently was in the day when the first habitations arose in the forests. The old records tell us, "Cremple, a rivolet, falleth into Nidd near

Cowthorpe." The modern directories tell us that the village is wholly devoted to agriculture. It is in a flat plain of clay land, and, in the olden time of dense forests and bad drainage, most of the parish must have been little better than a bog; much of it is still in that condition. Yet, in the leafy period of summer, while the foliage and verdure retain their virgin hue and magnificence of drapery, a spot more charming of rustic tranquillity, of Sylvan beauty, and of natural bounty, would be difficult to find. On every side there is the fatness of the land, aided by the teeming plenty of a beauteous winding stream. There is the village mill, almost shadowed by an oak of unparalleled age and grandeur, in whose being eras are wrapped up. And on the brink of the river, whose murmuring waters are speaking of eternity, the clanking mill wheel yet revolves, and near there stands the village church, a strange type of that murmuring flow, as the harbour of the gliding current of life. Cowthorpe is of great antiquity, and represents one of the earliest settlements in the Norse colonisation. Its eastern boundary is formed by the old Roman road which led from *Calcaria* (Tadcaster) to *Isurium* (Aldborough).

The village is mentioned in Domesday as Colethorpe—the ceorl, churl, or peasants' thorpe or village. Its origin seems to have been in the farmstead of a superior establishment, presumably at Ingmanthorpe or Kirk-Deighton. At the Conquest it had three carucates of land, that is 360 acres under cultivation; and there were two ploughs in the village belonging to the lord, and one belonging to three villanes. Of wood pasture, that is, rough broken pasture land, there were 160 acres. The remainder of the 1370a. 1r. 25p., which the parish contains, was wood and bog, of which a considerable quantity still remains. But in those early times there was a church there, although the one at Kirk-Deighton was so near.

Before the Norman Conquest, Cowthorpe seems to have belonged to Merlesweyn, the lord of Deighton, whose keen battle-axe hewed for him such fame in the opposition to the Normans in 1069. The village appears to have been from the earliest period of its history an adjunct of and entirely subordinate to Deighton, which we know was the residence of the lord. After the Conquest the parish fell to the lot of William de Percy, who sub-infeudated it to a subordinate Norman, Godefrid Alsalin. In the twelfth century, that dark time as to the titles of property, we find some of the land had reverted to the villagers, for on the establishment of the Preceptory of Knights Templars at Ribston, by Robert de Ros of Ingmanthorpe, Alan the Carpenter of Colethorpe, gave to them several lands in the township.

The first mention we have of the church after the Domesday account is in 1206, when Geffrey Colethorpe and Alice his wife, and Geffrey Werrebi and Isabel his wife, who possibly may have been the daughters of Robert de Ros, demanded the advowson against Nigel Plumpton, tenant, but it was settled by law that the right belonged to Nigel and his heirs. This date and circumstances may possibly mark the period

of the second or Norman edifice which succeeded the earlier or Saxon structure. The settlement was not, however, beyond controversy. In 1256 William de Ireby, guardian of the lands and heir of Nigel de Plumpton, gives 20/- for an assize concerning the church of Cowthorpe. The arrangement then come to seems to have endured until some time previous to 1284, when the town was held by Adam, son of Alan de Walkyngham, for the fourth part of a knight's fee, of Robert de Plumpton, and of course the advowson went with it. Our knowledge of the com-

KIRK-DEIGHTON CHURCH.

mencement of the Walkynghams is slight; but they were, however, of some consideration. I take the above Alan to have been the great Advocate. In 1267 Agnes, who was the wife of John de Walkyngham, gave half a mark for having an assize, apparently as to lands. In 1286 Nicholas Melton recovered his seizin against Adam, son of Alan de Walkyngham, Richard Knout and Eva his wife, of £10 rent with appurtenances in Colethorpe. John Walkyngham, who held of the King in capite, died in 1295, when the King took the homage of Thomas

de Walkyngham, his son and heir, for all the lands and tenements in Yorkshire. This is the last territorial notice of the family which occurs to me for a considerable time.

The first recorded presentation to the Rectory of Cowthorpe occurs in 1289, when Sir Richard Roukesburgh presents, by reason of having the custody of certain parts of the land of Adam, son and heir of the above Alan, who was very probably no other than the son of Alan the Carpenter. There is at this time a little obscurity about the history of Cowthorpe. During some part of the reign of Edward I., William Rither held the manor, but only as a feoffee, not as a tenant. In 1301, Henry de Herdewyke and Margery his wife were cast in damages at York for Estover in 100 acres of wood of the wood of Cowthorpe, claimed against John de Walkingham. It is not until 1332 that a Walkyngham presents, and then the family appear to have no longer resided in the village, but to have been settled at Ravensthorpe, near Dewsbury. Joan Walkyngham, "living at her manor of Ravensthorpe" in 1346, leaves a vestment to Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe, and her body to be buried near that of her husband, Sir John de Walkyngton, in the Church of St. Felix. In 1292, William de Cantilupe and Emma his wife have free warren in all their lands in Aston, Kereby, Ravensthorpe, &c., and infangtheof and gallows in the said towns.

The Walkynghams presented twice; they were succeeded by the De la Poles, sons of the opulent Hull merchant, who so greatly assisted Edward III., and were created Earls of Suffolk. They presented three times. In 1390, Richard II. granted to Edward De la Pole and others in fee, among other lands, seven bovates of land in Cowthorpe by service thereof. They in turn were succeeded by the De Burghs, a race of soldiers who seemingly had their rise in the days of the Edwards. In 1321, the King appointed Thomas del Burgh escheator beyond Trent. In 1330, a Thomas del Burgh, parson of the church of Brigham, made a fine of six marks for leave to give in mortmain a lay fee in Brigham. In 1332, one of these, probably the latter, was appointed the king's treasurer in Dublin. In 1337, the king granted to John de Verdoun, and Thomas de Verdoun his brother, the custody of the manors of Swaffham and Burgh with their appurtenances in Cambridgshire which belonged to Thomas de Burgh defunct, to have to the legitimate age of the heir, paying them 40 marks. This was not the treasurer of Ireland, for subsequently, in the same year, we find him crossing and recrossing the channel. In 1336, Thomas de Burgh was the king's chamberlain, at Berwick-upon-Tweed; in the same year he was appointed the king's chancellor of the town of Berwick, and all the king's lands beyond Tweed and in Scotland. This Thomas died in 1347, when his heirs were found to be under age. Richard Burgh, who married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Roos of Kendal, died in December, 1407; he gave all his manor of Cowthorpe and the advowson of the church to Margaret his wife for the term of her life, the remainder to John del Burgh his son. In 1441, there is an exemplification of

the last will of John Burgh, of Colthorpe *armiger*, concerning his manor of Colthorpe and all his other lands and tenements in Co. Ebor and in Appleby, Co. West., and the decree in Chancery made for the same for Brian Roucliffe and divers others of the same cognomen in general tail. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 284.) In the 33rd Henry VI., 1454, Thomas Burgh, Esq., son and heir of Thomas Burgh, late of Cowthorpe, Esq., ratified the state and possession of Brian Roucliffe, third baron of the exchequer, son of Joan, wife of Guy Roucliffe, sister of the aforesaid John Burgh, in the manor of Cowthorpe, with the advowson of the church of the said town, and the land in Bickerton. In 1476 the title seems to have been completed by a full exemplification of certain fines and records concerning the manor of Colthorpe, &c., for Brian Roucliffe. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 321.) As it is in Brian Roucliffe that the great event in the ecclesiastical history of Cowthorpe centres, I will give a list of the rectors prior to his time before touching further on the subsequent matters.

The old church, dedicated to St. Michael, was most likely to have been a Norman edifice of a late type, built during or shortly after the third crusade, when the patronage of that saint was mostly sought after, especially by Crusaders, and of course among them the Templars, who owned part of the parish. The edifice, which was probably the successor of the Saxon church, stood in a field in Cowthorpe Lane, within a couple of hundred yards of the Cowthorpe and Deighton boundary. The land thereabouts is still called the "Chapel Fields," but not a vestige of the chapel remains, for reasons which we shall hereafter learn. The first recorded rector is

RICHARD DE ROUKESBURGH, priest, who was instituted 4th Kalends of May (28th April), 1289, by Sir Richard de Roukesburgh. Either he or some other clergyman whose name is now lost was instituted on the 2nd Nones (4th) of December, 1289, by reason of the custody of certain parts of the land of Adam, son and heir of Alan de Walkyngham. This institution is not given in Torre's list.

ROBERT FITZWILLIAM de Holdercle, subdeacon, instituted 6th Kalends of June (27th May), 1292, by Sir Richard de Roukesburgh, who was still remaining a feoffee of the Walkyngham estates.

RICHARD DE YERDELEY, priest, instituted 6th Ides (8th) January, 1303 (or 3d Nones, 6th July, 1303, unless this also refers to another institution, the name of the rector being lost), by Sir William de Cantilupe, by right of the dowry of Eva his wife, the daughter and co-heiress of William Broase, Lord of Brecknock and Abergavenny, and in her right became possessed of that honour. He appears to have been a native, and really the nominee of the Plumptons. Alice, daughter of Adam de Yerdeley, gave to Walter, son of Serlo de Plumpton, and his heirs, his whole right in six acres of land in Follifait. Witnesses, Sir Robert de Plumpton, Wm. de Hertlington, and Richard de Stockeld.

JOHN DE SPROTTON, priest, instituted Nones (7th) May, 1332, by Sir John de Walkyngham, of Ravensthorpe, who died before 1346, and is buried in the church of St. Felix at Ravensthorpe. This indicates the date of the removal of the family of Walkyngham from Cowthorpe. It is probable that he resigned the living but continued in the service of his patron, whose widow Joan, died in 1346, and left him a legacy of 40d. As illustrating the times, and to recall some of the forgotten dead, and other incidents in the history of the parish, we will give extracts from her will :—
"I give to Dominus Nicholas de Cantilupe a vestment of *serico*, viz., a chasuble, tunic,

and a dalmatic, and also the best gold clasp (*firmaculum*) that I have. I give to Anthony de Ross 5 marks; to Elizabeth de Walkyngham, 40s.; to Agnes de Ingmanthorpe, a cow; to Eva de Ros, 10 marks; to Adam de Colthorpe, a cow and half a mark."

WALTER DE CRETON, priest, instituted 16 Kalends March (14th Feb.), 1324, by Sir John de Walkyngham. He was one of the executors of Joan de Walkyngham, the widow of Sir John. She left him a legacy of £10, in addition to her psalter, "with the great letter; and a certain book written in the English tongue." She also left to the chaplain of the parish church of Colthorpe who should exist at the time of her death, 2s. He seems to have been

WILLIAM DE WIGGINTON, chaplain, instituted 6th Oct., 1349, by Sir William de la Pole, who married Katherine, sister of Sir John Norwich, Kt., who survived him, and, dying in 1381, was buried in the Carthusian Priory, near Hull.

JOHN NORMAN, priest, instituted 13th Oct., 1369, by Lady Katherine de la Pole. He died in possession of the rectory in 1399. He appears to have had local connections. 24th Jan., 1349—Roger Boteler, of North Dighton, gave to William, son of Richard Norman, of Lumby, and to Juliana his wife, their heirs and assigns, one toft, with a garden lying to it, with trees and all other appurtenances, situate in the town of North Dighton, to have for ever. Dated at North Dighton the day after the Feast of St. John the Archbishop, 1349.

WILLIAM SEATON, the date of whose institution is not given. This appointment may have had some connection with the trouble connected with the outlawry of Michael de la Pole, the well-known Earl of Suffolk, who died in Paris 5th Sept., 1389. The Earl's death did not occur without influence upon the village. In 1390 the King granted to Ed. de la Pole and another *inter alia* a messuage, two tofts, a close called Wardeclose, and seven bovates (105 acres) of land in Colthorpe. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 221.) Seaton died in possession of the rectory.

RICHARD MARSHALL, priest, instituted 4th Dec., 1414, by Margaret del Burgh, daughter of Thomas Roos, of Kendall, and widow of Richard del Burgh, who died Dec., 1407, and is buried in the Church of the Friars' Minors, at York, bequeathing to his wife his manor of Colthorpe, with the advowson of the Church, the whole manor of Bickerton, the manor of Couseby, with the advowson of the church; the reversion to John del Burgh, his son. He had been out in Scroop's Rebellion with Lord Percy.

JOHN SILTON.—Torre does not give either the date of institution or name of patron. It was probably during his rectorship that Brian Roucliffe, who had married Joan, daughter of Thomas del Burgh, of Kirtlington, Notts, came into possession of the estates of John del Burgh, his kinsman, "qui mihi dedit manerium de Colthorp," as Sir Brian states in his will. The will of John Burgh, of Colthorp, Esq., relative to his estates is dated at London, 24th May, 1434. He desires Sir Robert Ros, of Ingmanthorpe, Roger Burgh, clerk, Hugh Arden, clerk, and Thomas Arden, gent., his feoffees of his lands in the counties of York and Westmoreland, to enfeoff Isabel, his wife, in the manor of Colthorpe, for her life, with remainder to Brian Roucliffe and Jennet his wife, the testator's sister, with remainder to Roger, William, Thomas, John, and Robert, brothers of the said Brian. He died in possession of the rectory.

ROBERT PERESON, priest, instituted 12th August, 1451, by Sir Brian Roucliffe, the great lawyer, 3rd Baron of the Exchequer, and a noble benefactor to Cowthorpe. Pereson was a native, being the third son of John Pereson, of Cowthorpe, yeoman, who died in 1461, and brother of Thomas Pereson, sub-dean of York, whose executor he was. He resigned when, on the 11th April, 1471, he was instituted to the rectory of Kirk Dighton. He died in 1498. Thomas Pereson, the sub-dean, left by will 6s. 8d. for the fabric to each of the churches of Cowthorpe and Kirk Dighton.

ROBERT BUBWITH was instituted to the rectory on the presentation of Brian Roucliffe 2nd July, 1483.

And now for the most interesting piece of information. On the 28th November, 1455, Archbishop William Booth issued a commission to Mr. John Sendale, canon of York, Mr. William Langton, Mr. Roger

Burgh, Mr. John Worsley, and Dan John Hovingham, vicar of Bilton, to inquire into the following case: Sir Brian Roucliffe, the patron, had sent a petition to the Archbishop, that because the old parish church of St. Michael was so far from the village, and the way between them very strait, sloppy, muddy, and hurtful to the parishioners going to and fro, he should pull it down, remove the old materials to a more convenient site, and then build a new church in the village at his own cost. In the meantime he asks that the parishioners may have service and the usual rites performed in a chapel within the manor house of the said Brian at Colthorpe, until the new church is finished. The commissioners report favourably, and on the 13th February, 1456, the Archbishop sanctions the scheme, and grants an indulgence of 40 days to all who assist the work. In three years the present fabric was reared, but, as it still shows, never completed according to the original designs of the founder, who has intended that there should have been a nave and choir, with a centre tower, after the fashion of cathedrals and greater churches. The choir alone as far as the tower arch of the nave has been completed, and is a dismal structure, without any trace of the splendid architecture of its day. On the 17th August, 1458, a commission was granted to John, Bishop of Philippolis, to consecrate this "newly-built and wholly finished church" to the honour of "the Holy Trinity and St. Michael the Archangel," together with the churchyard thereof; and also to grant indulgences of one year's remissions to all those who shall be truly contrite and penitent, and should attend this consecration and dedication, and also of 40 days to those who should be present on the anniversary day of its dedication hereafter. Likewise the said bishop to dedicate a certain chapel, newly built in the churchyard of the old parish church, to the honour of St. Michael and St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr, and of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins. This structure is now lost. In the church that he built a monument was set up for the testator, as he well deserved, consisting of two brazen figures of himself and his wife, whilst in his right hand he held up the image of the church he had restored. An inscription stated that he died 24th March 1494-5, and was buried in his own church. A few years ago some sacrilegious villains broke into the church and carried this memorial off with them, ripping the brazen imagery from the stone at the north side of the altar. There is a delineation of it, however, in Waller's Sepulchral Brasses. Fortunately, when Dodsworth visited the church on the 17th October, 1620, he copied the inscription upon the tomb; the brass bore, with the portraitures of a man in a gown, and a woman under the feet, these lines—

O Lord God that art of mighties most
Eternal God in Trinitie
Fadre and Son and Holy gost
Most humbly we pray unto the
To shew thy mercy and pyte
On Biyan Roucliff and Johan his wyfe
Forgyff thair sinne and iniquitie
And bring theym to thy joyfull lyff. Amen.

Above the man's head—Credo quod Redemptor meus vixit et in novissima die de terra resurgam et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum ;

Nunc Christi te petimus
Miserere quæsumus
Qui venisti redimere perditos
Noli dampnare redemptos.

Round about the tomb these words are engraved :—
Hic jacet Brianus Roucliff quondam tertius baro de Saccario domini Regis, fundator et constructor hujus ecclesiæ et tocius operis usque ad consummationem et Johanna filia Ric. Hamerton de Cravene militis, uxor sua qui obierunt vidz dictus Brianus xxiiij die Martii an. Dom. MCCCCLXXXXIIII et dicta Johanna quinto die Septembris an. Dom. M—— Quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.

Betwixt the man and the woman on a plate there is
Burgh—Azure 3 fleurs de lys ermine.

And about them engraven
Orate pro anima Johannis Burgh armigeri, &c.

On the other stone
Roucliff—per pale a chevron between 3 leopards' heads erased.
With
Burgh—3 fleurs de lys ermine.
Orate pro anima dominæ Johannæ nuper uxoris Guido Roucliff de Escryk armigeri qui obiit die Novembris an. Dom. MCCCCLXXVIII cujus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen.

Sir Brian Roucliff's memory should be perpetuated as that of a noble and true Christian, for besides his large alms to the poor of Colthorpe and Bickerton and the country within three miles around, at the last moment of his life he makes a special gift of 40d. to Old Norton, and a weekly allowance of 2d. to Blind Carlill, of Colthorpe, as long as he shall live.

Amongst other names are the following :—

ROBERT JACKSON, clerk, instituted 31st December, 1577, by Sir Ingram Clifford, which must have been but very shortly before Sir Ingram s death. The following epitaph was formerly on a tablet hanging to the wall.

Clifford—Or and azure, on a fess, gules ; a crescent with coats of the Earl of Cumberland.

Since gruesome grave of force must have
Sir Ingram Clifford Knight
And age by kind were out of minde
Each worthy living wight
And since man muste returne to dust
By course of his creation
As doctors sage in every age
To us have made relation
You gentles al no more let fall
Your teares from blubbred eyes
But praise the Lord with one accord
That raignes above the skyes
For Christ hath wrought and dearly bought
The price of his redemption
And therefore we no doubt shall see
His joyful resurrection.
Made by Henry Pudsey 1577 and
renewed by Richard Kay 1603.

JOHN FLINT, clerk, instituted 29th January, 1632, by Thomas Walmsley. He was a Puritan, and was reported to Cromwell's ecclesiastical committee "as a preaching minister." During his incumbency the value of the living was £40 per annum. He died in possession.

As might be expected in a church with such connections and patronage as Cowthorpe, the window heraldry was exceedingly rich. Some of the ancient glass still remains in a better or worse state of preservation; but when Dodsworth saw it, it must have been almost complete.

His very ample notes are as follows:—

Cowthorpe Church, 17th October, 1620.

QUYER, NORTH WINDOW.

BURGH.—*Gules on a cross arg., a mullet sable, a border er. engrailed or*, with *azure*, 3 *fleur de lys or.*

EDWARD, KING AND CONFESSOR.—*Per pale azure, a cross between* 5 *martlets or*, with ENGLAND, *a label of* 3 *points arg.*

BURGH.—A man in armour kneeling, on his breast *azure*, 3 *fleurs de lys, er.*, his wife beside him, under them **ORATE PRO ANIMA**, &c., of John Burgh, Esq. and M—— his wife.

EAST WINDOW.

HAMERTON.—*Arg.* 3 *hammers sa.* Brian Roucliffe, third baron of the exchequer, married Joan, the daughter of Sir Richard Hamerton, Kt., and had issue John Roucliffe, Esq.

PLUMPTON.—*Azure on* 5 *fusils,—barry of* 6 *or and gules on a chief arg.* 3 *mascles gules on the middlemost mascle a* T *arg.*

ROOS.—*Azure* 3 *water bougets or, a label of three points compone gules and arg.*

ROUCLIFFE.—*Arg. on a chevron between* 3 *leopards heads erased gu. a mullet pierced or.*

BURGH.—*Azure* 3 *fleurs de lys, ermine.*

SOUTH WINDOW.

ROUCLIFFE.—Paled with *azure, a fess arg. between* 3 *crosslets, or.*

BURGH.—*Azure* 3 *fleur de lys er.*, paled with Roos of Kendal, *or* 3 *water bougets sa.*

INGLEBY.—*Sa. a star arg.* paled with

ROUCLIFFE.—*Arg. a chevron between* 3 *leopards heads erased gules.*
Arg. a chevron between 3 *hinds (or asses) heads erased gules.*
Arg. fretty, a canton sable.
Gu. 3 *greyhounds courant, arg. collar and bells, arg.*

ON A VERY FINE MARBLE TOMB, INLAID WITH BRASS.

ROUCLIFFE AND ALDBURGH.—*On a chevron* 3 *leopards heads erased, a mullet pierced*, paled with a *fess between* 3 *crosslets or.*

ROUCLIFFE AND UGHTRED.—Paled.

BURGH. *per pale azure*, 3 *fleurs de lys, er. and* ROOS, of Kendall.—*Or*, 3 *water bougets sable.* This refers to the marriage of Richard Burgh and Margaret Roos.

HAMERTON.—*3 hammers sa.* paled with

TEMPEST.

ASHETON.—*Arg. a mullet sa.* paled with

STANDISH.—3 dishes.

HAMERTON paled with ASHETON, *a mullet sa.*, and the figures as already described
Quarterly *arg. on a cross sa.* 3 *swans* of the first; second, *arg. a fess engrailed* between 6 *water bougets sa.* 3 as 2, 4 *as* 1
Az. a fess between 3 *stars, or.*
Or. a cross sable.

Under the tower stands the original font, and considering the origin of the church, a most rude piece of stone sculpture it is. The basin is hollowed out of a square stone placed on a shaft and base. On each face of the font coats of arms are engraved, that in the south face being Roucliff, *arg. a cheveron, between 3 leopards' heads, erased, sable;* that on the west face Plumpton, *azure 5 fusils;* that on the north face Burgh *azure, 3 fleurs de lys, ermine;* that on the east face Hamerton, *arg. 3 hammers, sable.*

The present condition of the church is neither worthy of its origin nor its history. We cannot say that it is neglected, but it is undoubtedly dilapidated. Its floor is covered with pews, boxes of the good old-fashioned high-backed type, and the chance therefore of obtaining later inscriptions, except a very few, is destroyed. Within the altar rails there is a remarkable carved oak chest, called the register chest, it is not unlikely that it was placed there by Brian Roucliff himself. There are 3 bells in the tower, on the least of which there is the name of the founder, C. Dalton, York, 1769. The local tradition is that the notorious Guy Fawkes used for many years to be the bell ringer, a tradition that we should like to verify. Something appears to have been done from time to time towards reparation; but it has been quite inadequate. The work wants taking carefully in hand and completely finishing, so that the church may be restored to the condition it was left in by its founder. A fine tombstone, apparently of one of the rectors, has been broken up to complete the flagging. A tablet on the south wall informs us of a benefaction: "The Rev. Thomas Jessop, Doctor in Divinity, gave to this parish of Cowthorpe the sum of £100 sterling, the interest arising from which is to be annually distributed by the trustees thereof for the time being, for the relief of such poor persons as inhabit and reside in the said parish of Cowthorpe; the distribution, as to the manner and proportioning, is left to the discretion of the trustees. The principal, viz., £100 sterling, has been invested in the 3 per cent. Consols, in the names of the Rev. Thomas Daysell, M.A.; Edward York, Esquire; Mr. Richard Skilbeck, and Mr. Matthew Thomlinson, the present trustees. Dated 9th May, 1846." The recent tombs are of very little interest.

This church was repaired, ceiled, and otherwise improved by the Rev. Dr. Jessop, pursuant to the wish and as an affectionate tribute to the memory of his mother, to whose memory there is also a tablet (marble) on the north wall of the church. The ceiling is a decided disadvantage, and should be at once pulled down. Mrs. Jessop is buried within the chancel, in front of the altar. Dr. Jessop was vicar of Wighill, near Tadcaster.

Cowthorpe Hall still stands, a short distance north of the church, and on the banks of the Nidd. It is now a farmhouse, and has a charming situation. There were once several coats of arms in the windows of it.

The one other remarkable feature of this quaint and almost forgotten village is the Cowthorpe Oak. This tree is beyond doubt the most gigantic in England, and it has the prominence of being reputed to be the oldest living tree. Experts say that it has exceeded the age of 1600 years. Under its shadow, therefore, every race that has populated these islands may have rested, and it is to-day the living witness of the rise and fall of nations as well as of the vitality of nature.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, SCARBOROUGH.

WILLIAM of Newburgh, in a burst of eloquence, gives us a description of the Castle Rock in 1154. He says, "A rock of stupendous altitude, and at the same time amplitude, almost inaccessible on all sides by scraggy rocks shelving into the sea by which they are broken, except the narrow way of a certain approach which opens to the west. It has on its summit a spacious herby plain of 60 *jugera* (acres) and also a little fountain of running water flowing from the rock. And on this gorge which you cannot ascend without labour the Royal Tower is placed, and under this gorge is the beginning of the town, spread out on every side, north and south, but having the front towards the west. On the front a certain portion is guarded by a proper wall, on the east by the Castle Rock, and on both sides the sea flows. Verily, Earl William, having

remembered this place when he was in the province of York as capable of many things, considered it fit for the building of a castle. Aiding nature by costly work, he surrounded the whole plain of the rock with a wall, and he built the tower in the straits of the gorge, which having given way in process of time, the king (Henry II.) ordered a great and famous citadel to be built."

I take it that the tower built by William, Earl of Albemarle, was no more than a wooden guard-house planted during Stephen's days of usurpation when the Earl was *Rex Verior*—more than King—some little distance above where the drawbridge was in later days, and had no similitude to the *Arx Magna* which the King commanded to be built. There is no mention of an *Arx Magna*, or even of a weaker citadel, in the Norse account of the last landing of Norsemen at Scarborough in or about 1153; but there is evidence that the rock was then garrisoned, much as is thus stated in a description of the surprise of the town which ended in the utter defeat of the invaders :—

The men toil on in quiet,
  The lads their playmates greet;
When lo! the cries of a wild surprise
  Come thundering down the street;
And then in loud confusion,
  Urged by the startling shock,
With panting breasts and straining eyes
Seeking the cause of this surprise
  They scale the towering rock.

But half way to the summit
  A steep abyss appears;
There on the bridge that binds each ridge
  Is the guard of Norman spears.
And there the tale is counted,
  And thence the news are spread—
"The Raven of the pirate host
Flaps his foul wings above our coast
  And soars above our dead!
It ill becomes the valiant
  To linger in delay;
They come to fight with all their might,
  And ye must strike to-day!"

It is more than thirty years after this event, in 1186, before we have any mention of the Church; but is not an insignificant thing that an early or perhaps the first known vicar was Gilbert de Turribus—Gilbert of the Towers. The Church of St. Mary, of Scarborough, except for the earliest years of its infancy, was an "alien" Church; it was granted as a cell to the Abbey of Citeaux. The fortress is described as a "castellum" in 1177, when Henry II. gave it into the custody of Roger, Archbishop of York. At that time there had been no alienation, for Roger de Houeden tells us that when in 1186 Henry wished to promote Paulinus de Ledes to the bishopric of Carlisle, on his refusal the King, "in order that Paulinus might be willing to accept of that bishopric, offered him to enrich it with revenues to the amount

of three hundred marks yearly, arising from the Church of Bamborough, the Church of Scarborough, the chapelry of Tickhill, and two of the King's manors near Carlisle." The offer was of no avail. It was Richard I. who alienated the Church in 1189, an act which raised disappointment in Scarborough. In 1200 the burgesses of Scardeburg gave to the King (John) 40 marks of silver for confirmation of the charter of King Henry, his father. The town was then growing into importance. In 1202 the burgesses rendered an account to the Treasury of £16-10 of the farm (rent) of Scarborough, and £10 of that of Walesgrave, for a whole year. In the same year De Bulli received £16-10 for the wardenship of the Castle. The men of Scardeburg gave 20 marks for having the town, then in the King's hands, and the town of Walesgrave, with its mill and other appurtenances, returning yearly the old farm rent £33 for Scarborough, and £10 for Walesgrave, and an increase of £33, and they will pay the whole rent on the Feast of St. Michael. In the same year the Sheriff renders an account of £10 farm of the mill of Scallebi. It is beyond the limits of the present work to trace the history of Scarborough in detail; it is the object of this article to set forth a few forgotten things; and for that purpose I print an architectural description of the Church, by the late Rev. Mackenzie, C.Walcott M.A., and furnished by him to the *Building News*. Before doing that, however, I may note one or two forgotten facts. A step in the religious history of the town is marked in 1298, when Henry de Laci, Earl of Lincoln made a fine with the King of 20/- for the Friars Minors having license to include a certain house contiguous to their house in Scardeburgh. A further step is marked in 1362, when Robert de Roucliff gives a place of land with its appurtenances to the Prior of the order of Mount Carmel in Scardeburgh. In the same year the Abbot of Citeaux gave 10/- for license of giving a messuage with its appurtenances in Scardeburgh in mortmain to Henry Bentelowe, vicar of the Church of St. Mary of Scardeburgh.

Mr. Mackenzie says :—

Cistercian architecture, under modification of the strict rule, is well illustrated in the ground plan of St. Mary's, Scarborough (King's Coll. B. M. xliv., 47a, and addit. MS. 6,756, ff. 219-223), which was an alien convent and cell of Citeaux, to which Richard I., in 1189, assigned the parish church of Scarborough. The nave, which was continued as a vicarage church, and confirmed by Edward I., has undergone a remarkable change. The original building consisted of a nave of six bays with aisles; it had a clerestory. Now the weather moulding of the aisle roofs may be seen on the walls of two western towers which existed in 1486, according to a plan in the British Museum, and are mentioned in Leland's "Itinerary" in these terms—The church "is very faire and is isled on the sides and cross-isled, and hath three auncient toures for belles with pyramides of them, whereof two toures be at the west end of the chirch and one in the midle of the cross isle" (vol. i. p. 67). A traditional view by Haymes (1737-8) shows the three spires, and a central tower of two stories, capped with a low spire, as portrayed in an engraving by Francis Place (or Kip), now in Scarborough Museum; and another view by Settrington (1735), which shows a spire and four pinnacles; a door is marked in the eastern-most chapel next the transept. These spires were an infraction of the rule, just as the presence of a parish church under the Minster roof, and its site in a populous town, were in desertion of strict Cistercian

principles. In the middle of the fourteenth century the wall of the south aisle was removed and straining aisles erected across it; and a view was thus obtained of four chantry chapels with ribbed vaulting, which were erected eastward of the porch, which had a parvis, and was subsequently reconstructed. These chapels are divided by solid walls; two of them contain a sepulchral recess and ablution drain; another has a drain; and a fourth an aumbry. Their roofs are made of slabs of stone; the tracery of the windows is modern, and the range of gable fronts makes a very picturesque group. At Chichester, a secular cathedral, and Melrose, which was Cistercian, there is a similar arrangement of lateral chapels. At Rievaulx, also, chantries were erected between the buttresses of the choir.

The dedications here were St. Nicholas, St. John, St. James, erected by Robert Goland,* and St. Stephen, founded by Robert Rillington,† taking their order from east to west. The list in the Public Record Office notices those of St. James, St. Stephen, and St. Mary, Percy's, and the chancel chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, which was on the north of the precinct attached to a cemetery. On this side the great arcade presents a most remarkable appearance, and offers ample room for speculation. The solution probably is that the parish commenced their proportion of the wall at the west end, whilst the monks were proceeding westward. The two eastern pillars, like all those upon the north, are transitional, and probably mark the termination of the conventual choir; indeed, on the south side of the pier of the crossing there is a portion of early work which it is likely formed the side of the original arch of the Early English aisle opening into the south wing of the transept. The remaining pillars are Early English. One has four shafts banded at the centre, and arranged round a central pillar; another is octagonal; and a third, a quatrefoil, in plan, has a little niche for an image. This curious experiment of varying the elevation is far from successful, and has resulted in distorting the lines of the vaulting shafts, which here do not coincide with the centre of the spandrels, the spacing of the arches being quite different from those on the north. One object, however, was attained by this curious arrangement—an open space on the inner-front of the porch door, and an ampler view into the western chapel. A glance at the ground plan will show that the whole southern arcade is later than the north side, and laid out by other hands. It is known that the burgesses and commonalty maintained a chantry of St. Mary. The Testamentary burials also acquaint us with an altar of Corpus Christi, endowed probably by some member of the rich mercantile family of Percy, towards the close of the fifteenth century. In 1464 the Lady Margaret Aske leaves a cross of gold, with pearls, to be placed at the image of the B. V. Mary, of Scardeburgh.

One consequence of the addition of the outer chapels is the entire obscuration of the clerestory on the outside. It consists of Early English lights, deeply splayed on the inside face.

Upon the outer side of the north aisle a large chapel was erected, being of four bays, and parted off by three pillars having grotesque capitals of the fifteenth century. Of its history nothing is known. Tradition suggests that it was intended to supply the place of some parish church that had been destroyed. Over the door there is a trefoiled decorated niche. This is the work which may have been proceeding in the middle of the fourteenth century, when Henry, Lord Percy (in 1349), left 2s. to the works. There was also work being done to the fabric in 1398, to which John

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*The feast of St. Vincent the martyr, 1391, Robert Galon, burgess of Scardeburg,—I leave to Amicia my wife, a gold ring, with a sapphire, to have so long as she lives, and after her decease to belong to my daughter; and after her decease I will that the chaplains, for the time being, of the Chantry of St. James may have the said ring for ever "ita ut omnibus dicti annuli medicinam implorantibus Subveniat." The Chantry of St. James which I have founded in the church of the B.M., of Scardeburgh. Prob. 2nd Mar. *Test Ebor*, i p. 158.

† 26th September, 1391, I, Robert de Ryllyngton, of Scardeburgh, leave 1 piece of silver called "Goblet" and 1 piece of silver called "Collock;" to William Browne my servant, 13s. 4d. and one of my worn russet gowns, and one flew with warrap and flot; I will that those two ships called "Saintmary boite" and "le Katherine" may be sold and the price expended for the health of our souls. *Test Ebor.* i. p. 157.

Wawan, burgess of Scardborough, leaves 20s. In 1500 John Percy, a rich merchant of Scarbough, left "unto the kirke warke 5 marks, and unto the key 5 marks."* At the west side there is a prolongation of the line of the west front, formerly parted off by a wall from the aisle. At the east end of the aisle the mouldings of the door which opened into the transept are visible in the wall.

The western bay and front are Early English, forming a kind of galilee, as in the grander plans of Lincoln, Peterborough, and once at Bury St. Edmund's. The pedimented shallow porch was of the fifteenth century, but it has been partially rebuilt.

The south wing of the transept is shallow and aisleless. It is transitional decorated, with monumental recesses containing stone coffins in the south wall. It now forms an organ chamber and vestry; in the exterior to the north is a fragment of the wall of the choir aisle. The eastern arm was of five bays, with a central door in the south wall and aisles; part of the south wall was standing in 1745 (King's Coll. xliv., 47 f.). It underwent some changes in the fifteenth century, after the rectory of the alien Minster had fallen into the hands of the Austin Canons of Bridlington, when it was dissolved by Henry IV.

On 10th October, 1659, the central tower, which had been injured in the siege of the Castle by the cannonade of 1644, fell, and was rebuilt in 1699, with a hazy regard to the original style, and of smaller proportions. The choir was turned into a battery on the 18th February, 1644, by Sir John Meldrum and the Roundheads. The Loyalist garrison replied with a destructive fire, and we have to mourn the loss of a noble building. The repairs of the tower were made in 1660, at a cost of over £3,000. Another anomaly was the divergence in the position of the conventual buildings; they lay to the south-west of the church, a road on the north and a deep declivity on the south precluding their erection in the ordinary place. A pentice seems to have been carried on continuously inside of the north wall of the precinct. Eastward of the Minster was the Paradise, a name for a cemetery still preserved in the cloister garth of Chichester. The fragment of the close wall still exists, and the site of the Court of Pleas and Abbot's Palace is laid down upon the Ordnance Survey maps.

MIRFIELD CHURCH.

On the 26th January, 1228, Margaret who was the wife of Alexander de Neville gave half a mark for a writ of "pone" against Thomas Fitz William, of land in Mirefield; and the Sheriff of York is commanded that he take security. In 1230 John de Neville, son and heir of Alexander, was a ward in the custody of Richard de Alenctun; he was, however, impecunious, and had clearly been in disreputable company, for the King granted him nine marks which he owed to Roes, the wife of Cocky the jew, and also nine marks which he owed to Benedict the jew, of Oxford, for Alexander his father. All this is evidence that the Nevilles of Mirefield were not a thrifty race. John, possibly stricken with the doom of spendthrifts, is not long before he leaves this vale of

* The burgesses have, from time to time, had trouble with their prison and their quay. The municipal rule of the town ever seems to have required a firm grasp. In 1323 the King committed to William Barde and Roger Wawayn the custody of his castle and towne of Scardeburgh, and of his manor of Whalles grave, for which they shall return every year £120, and keep the prisons in the same, safe and secure. On the 20th February, 1489, the King directs a writ to the master-forester of Pykeryng—tithe and other directing 300 "trees of oke called Scrobbes and Stobbes" of the timber in the woods called Ely's Close, in the honor of Pykeryng, tithes to be delivered to the baillffs to the towne of Scarborow, for the repairing of the "gayle and key" thereof, which are "in grete ruyn and without brieff remedy likely to be to thimportable charge of our said towne," the said wood to be used for that special purpose under the oversight of thurle of Northumberland, Sir W. Evers, Wm. Tunstral, Esq., John Parsy, and Robert Wauton.

tears, and at his death a new lord comes into possession of Mirefield. This new lord was his brother-in-law Sir John de Heton, who built the church, as the following narrative informs us :—

Anno Domini 1261. Dedicatio Ecclesiæ de Mirfield. Et Johannes Heton miles qui cepit in uxorem filiam seniorem Alexandri Nevile militis et Baronis de Mirfield prædicte et in tempore suo prædicta ecclesia fecit tantum de Mirfield. Et ad tunc contingebat prædict' Johannem Heton militem esse Romæ in peregrinand et ad illud tempus contingebat uxori ejus transire in die natalis Domini ante Diem in Aurora versus ecclesiam parochialem de Dewsbury. Et sicut prædicta uxor ejus in itinere ab latrones obviarunt sibi in quodam loco vocat Rafenys-broke-loyne et ad tunc ibidem spoliaverunt prædictam uxorem ejus in bonis et interfecerunt Generosum suum in quo loco ad istud tempus stat crux. Et tristis fuit prædict uxor ejus. Et in tempore prandii sui ad horam nonam prædicti natalis Domini contingebat Duobus clericis venire ad prædict' manerium de Mirfield dicentes "de profundis" et petebant eleemosynam et dicebant quod proponebant eis transire versus Romam. Prædicta Domina audiebat eos sic dicentes et dicebat illis si voluistis portare unam literam a me vobiscum et dare conjugi meo ego dabo vobis bonum reward', et prædicti clerici dicebant quod volebant. Tunc prædicta Domina scribebat omni supra dicta sibi et deciderabat per scripturam suam conjugi suo quod voluit informare Sanctum Dominum Papam de infortunio suo et facere prædictam Capellam esse ecclesiam parochialem tot' villæ de Mirfield. Et sic fecit. Tunc veniebat Domum prædict: Johannes Heton miles et dedit ecclesiam de Mirfield Johanni Heton fratri suo juniori et edificabat rectoriam et ipse fuit primus Rector. Et prædict Johannes Heton miles obiit 1302 primo die Julii. Tunc contingebat Hæres suus esse infra ætatem et capiebatur ad Wardum Domino Regi. Tunc prædict Dominus Johannes Heton Rector mortuus est. Et prædict rex dedit prædict' ecclesiam Will'mo Gressacre secundo Rectori ejusdem qui obiit anno 1358, 15 die Julii. Adhuc contingebat Heres esse infra ætatem. Tunc Dominus Rex dedit prædict' ecclesiam uni Willielmo Willing tercio Rectori ejusdem qui obiit anno Dni 1402, 11 Die Feb. Tunc post obitum Will'mi Monach de Kirkelees obtinebant prædictam Ecclesiam de Mirfield a Domino Rege, ut patet inferius et concessa est illis ad orand' pro anima Johannis Burghe qui nihil inde unquam habuit.

To this story, so barbarously though naturally told, I must add that, in 1274, Richard le Vavasour was "parson" of Mirfield, and Whitaker subjoins the following note in English :—

Alsoe ye shall understand at what time ye last heir of Heton was within age, that was ye laste Jhon Heton, uncle to Dame Isabell Gascoyne, that the heir of John Burghe was within age alsoe, that they were both wardes at on tyme. And ye Berghes were patrones of Heton Kirke, as Heton was patrone of Mirfield Kirke; and ye kyne at ye laste avoidance presented in ye nonage to ye kirke of Heton, in ye name of Heton, and contrarie to ye kirke of Mirfield in ye name of Burghe contrarie to that they were. Soe ye nonnes of Kirklees pray for ye Burghes, and not for ye Hetons.

The following extraordinary lines, transcribed or perhaps manufactured by Mr. Ismay, give a brief epitome of the history of Mirfield, in rhyme :—

In time of yore a Knight did dwell
At Castle Hall, near Chapel Well,
And Sir John Heton was his name;
A worthy baron, great in fame,
Lord of this town. As story tells,
When Chappel stood at Chappel Wells,
He got this church parochial made,
And the foundations of it laid.
In the same place where now it stands,
Upon a part of his own lands.

Behind the house a mount appears,
A lasting monument of years.
It was erected by the Danes,
And piled up with wondrous pains ;
A Saxon lord possessed the same
Before the Norman princes came.
The Normans next possession took,
As doth appear by Domesday Book ;
The Beaumonts did the place command
When Harry Tudor ruled the land ;
The house rebuilt, which ages stood,
The front adorned with carved wood.
By Thomas B.,* the owner's name,
Who lived and died in the same.
Bells to the church the living call,
And to the grave they summon all ;
And when by death one gets a fall,
He's neighbour then to Castle Hall.†

The curious Latin document is given by Hopkinson without any notice of the place where he found it, but it is sufficiently authenticated by evidence internal, as well as external, and was probably among the papers of Kirklees Nunnery. The plea for the foundation of this church was certainly a powerful one—that the Lady of the Manor set out for mass to the then parent church, at the distance of three miles, on Christmas Day before dawn, and that she had actually been robbed at the spot where the cross stood in "Rafenys-broke-loyne," and her principal attendant murdered. Sorrowful undoubtedly she was, but not inconsolable, for she sat down very quietly to dinner at nine in the morning (we must be careful not to mistake the hour for three in the afternoon) after her return from Dewsbury. It has been usual in defect of such evidence as this to apply to the appearances about a church's architecture as proofs of the period when it was erected. In the present instance, in which the time is given, we may apply the external evidence to prove what otherwise I should have doubted, that cylindrical though slender columns with something resembling volutes on the capitals (for such were the columns and capitals of the nave of the church at Mirfield), had continued to the latter end of Henry III. But as this church was evidently built by Sir John de Heton, after his return from Rome, it is not too much to suppose that his taste had been improved by his tour, and that he had learned to prefer a style of architecture approaching to classical models, though then almost superseded by a later fashion.

The church of Mirfield, appropriated by Kirklees, remained in that house until its dissolution, and constituted the best part of its endowment. In the very year of the surrender (1540) it was granted to Thomas Savile, of Clifton, gent. In 1547 license was granted to Cuthbert Savile to alienate the same to William Ramsden, who resold it the same year to John Dighton. The next alienation was to Elizabeth

*This Thomas Beaumont, of Castle Hall, was buried at this church July 30th, an. 1561. *Par. Reg.*

†A local proverb, Castle Hall being in the immediate neighbourhood.

and Thomas Soothill, from whom it must have returned to the Saviles, for in 1571 Thomas Savile presented to the vicarage. From this family it was most probably purchased by the Armitages, whose representatives to the present century have been impropriators and patrons. The connection of Mirfield with Kirklees no doubt gave rise to the tradition regarding the sister of Robin Hood, whose death at that nunnery is too firmly believed to be easily contradicted. In the east window of the old church (several of the windows of which were lancet shaped, therefore evidently of considerable antiquity) was the kneeling figure of Sir John Heton, founder of the church; also the arms of Heton, Savile impaling Hopton, Mirfield, Savile, and Hopton. Around an arch, which seemed to have been a confessionary, on the north side of the choir, was an inscription, comparatively modern—

DAME JOAN BEPHAST, LATE NUN OF KIRKLEES, BURIED FEBRUARY YE 5TH DAY, 1562.

I append the list of sepulchral inscriptions collected by the same Mr. Ismay, and which, though existing in his time, are, I believe, all now missing.

On a gravestone within the chancel door—

Here lyeth interred the body of Ann, daughter of Mr. George Thurgarland, of Liley, who departed this life the 19th day of January, in ye 8th year of her age. Anno Dom. 1681.

On a brass plate (in the Rector's pew) on the south side of the chancel—

Georgius Thurgarland de Liley. Generosus olim cives et scriptor de London obiit 17° die Septem 1666 sepultusque fuit 19° die ejusdem mensis.

Thurgarlande tuum corpus cum vermibus hic est.
Quod vivens meritis vixit honore viris.
Tuque Vocativo qui Flecteris esse Georgi,
Nunc Ablativo rite OEYPTOE eris.
Hic erat osurum moderamine Pacificator,
Cujus pars melior regnat in arce Dei.

On a brass plate in the chancel—

Hic jacet Margareta nuper uxor Georgii Thurgarland de Liley Gen et Filia Primogenita Thomæ Nettleton de Thornhill Lees Gener: obiit 27th die Octobris An D. 1640.

On another brass plate in the chancel—

Here was interred Mary, daughter of Rev. Jos. Ismay, Vicar of this church, who died Aug. 3rd, 1749, in the first year of her age.

On another brass plate in the chancel—

Hic jacet Maria, nuper uxor J. Ismay, hujus Ecclesiæ Vicarii. Obiit 20 die Martii, 1765, æt suæ 49.

Thomas, Fil Rev. J. Ismay, Vicar M. Alum; in Acad. Edin. Obiit 17 die Martii, A.D. 1772, æt suæ 22. Et in sepulcreto Grey Friars, Edin. Sepultus fuit.

On a gravestone in the chancel—

Here lieth interr'd the body of Christopher Shaw, the son of George Shaw, and Lieutenant to Sir Ingram Hopton, who was buried the 3rd day of April, anno Dom. 1644. Æt. 21.

N.B.—Chris. Shaw was slain, as tradition reports, by Richard Wheatley, late of Mirfield, and at that time a soldier under Cromwell.

On another in the chancel—

Here lieth interr'd the body of Mrs. Dorothy Thorp, daughter of the adjacent Mr. Richard Thorp, who deceased the 5th day of Decr., in the 25th yr. of her age, anno Dom. 1711.

On another in the chancel—

Here lieth interr'd the body of Richard Thorp, of Hopton, in the parish of Mirfield, gent. Mors quod mortale est habes et immortale tenet sublime cœlum. Vir probe præclare pietate, charitate, doctrina culte, et bonis moribus placide quiescis, dum sonat laudes anima divinas dum forant tua facta vere pia. Serius aut citius, nobis sequentum. Sic præparata sit nobis anima. Sic moriemur, terque beati. Obiit Jan. 27, 1713. Ætat suæ 75.

On a gravestone in the south aisle—

Here lieth the body of Samuel Hirst, of Mirfield, Gent., son of John Hirst, of Stockport, in the county of Chester, Gent., who departed this life ye 4th day of June, 1730, and in the 29th year of his age.

On another in the south aisle—

Here lieth the body of Ann, daughter of Richard Horsfall, of Storth Hall, Gent., who to her first husband married Thos. Beaumont, of this town, Gent., and to her second husband Henry Stanhope, Alderman, of Leeds. She departed this life ye 13th day of Feby., A.D. 1728, and in the 87th year of her age.

On another stone about the middle of the south aisle, scarcely legible—

Thomas Beaumont was buried the 20th day of May, 1638, aged 78 years.

On another near the same place, taken up when the aisle was repaired—

Alice, wife of Thomas Beaumont, of Mirfield, was buried the 25th day of October, 1648, aged 76.

Upon a board on the south wall—

B. T. A. enclosed in lines with several squares at the corners, the upper line having a semicircle in the centre, in which the B is placed, and below that to the left and right respectively are the T and A.

It is dated 1668, but the date is severed by the semi-circle, which separates it into 16 on the left side and 68 on the right.

When a vault was opened in the area of the old parish church for the interment of the late Mr. J. B. Greenwood, Dewsbury Moor, in October, 1879, a stone was found having the following inscription :—

There was a plague in the parish of Mirfield, A.D. 1631, whereof died 130.

This number is the same as that mentioned in the MS. account by the Vicar, the Rev. Joseph Ismay, who says the following inscription was set up in Mirfield church in 1752, as a memorandum to posterity—

A.D. MDCXXXI.

Deo placuit parochiam de Mirfield punire acri suâ castigatione ita ut cxxx. homines et gravissimo et dolentissimo morbo et contagio pestilentiæ correpti mortem obierunt.

Advertite vos et vivite.—E Z E K. 18-32.

Jos. Ismay, hujus Ecclesiæ Vic. F.F., A.D. 1752.

In English—

In the year of our Lord 1631 it pleased God to correct the parish of Mirfield with so severe a chastisement that 130 men, seized with a most grievous pestilence, died.

"Turn ye and live."—Ezek. xviii. 32.

Jos. Ismay, Vicar of this church, caused the inscription to be made A.D 1752.

"The plague was brought into Mirfield by a woman called Elizabeth Prince, a poor woman, who died of the infection, and was buried at Mirfield, 25th April, 1631."

"The number of those who died of the plague in the Register (fearful visitation, from which good Lord deliver us) was 130. At the bottom of Littlemoor and in Easthorpe lane there still appear some remains of hills and pits, where, it is said, were interred a vast number of human bodies during that fatal year (1631), when the plague raged in Mirfield. 'Tis highly probable they made a trench to receive the bodies of those who died of the infection, and possibly it was at some convenient place near the habitations of those that perished."

"William Rhodes, of Northorpe, died of the pestilence on the 18th of September, 1631, and was buried near the church porch on the 20th of the same month, as appears by the inscription on his gravestone."

"Agnes, wife of William Rhodes, of Northorpe, died of the same epidemical distemper, and was buried 6th October, 1631."

Now, as there is no memorial of her death upon the stone, in all probability she and many more were buried near their own dwellings. I find Alice, wife of Henry Wraith, buried June 1st, 1631, and it is said the husband would not be at the expense of getting his wife decently interred at a convenient distance from the house, which caused the following lines—

"Henry Wraith, to save a crown,
Buried his wife in haystack ground."

The new church here was consecrated by the Bishop of Ripon on the 12th October, 1871, the foundation stone having been laid on the 29th March, 1869, by the Rev. R. Maude, M.A., the then Vicar. The church, situate on the west side, and close to the site of the old parish church, is in the Early English style. The plan consists of nave and aisles, chancel, south porch, tower, and two vestries at the north-east angle, one of which is appropriated to the choir. The tower is at the west end of the nave, and adds considerably to the length of the church internally, its dimensions at the base being 30 ft. square, exclusive of buttresses. It rises 140 ft. from ground to top of the pinnacles, the vanes rising 6 ft. beyond this. It contains a clock and ten bells, cast by Messrs. Taylor, of Loughbro', the tenor weighing 30 cwt. 1 qr. 22 lb. The bell-floor is of great strength, and covered with lead, as also is the roof. The clock, supplied by Messrs. Potts & Sons, of Leeds, strikes the quarters on two bells. There are three dials incised in the stone work, the hands and figures being gilt. The principal entrance is through the south porch; there is also an entrance from the west end through the tower: this doorway is composed of a recessed and moulded arch, supported by stone bases, with detached stone shafts and moulded capitals, the tympanum being filled in with diaper and carving; also a circle sculptured, representing the Annunciation of St. Mary.

Internally, the nave is 82 ft. long, and divided into five bays; it is 27 ft. wide. The tower is 21 ft. square; the aisles are 13 ft. 6 in. wide; and the chancel, 40 ft. by 27 ft. in clear. The entire length internally is 150 ft. 6 in.; the width in clear, 60 ft. 4 in.; the height from nave floor to ridge, 64 ft. The church is lighted by coupled windows with splayed jambs along the north and south sides, and by three lancet windows in the tower; the west one of which is to be filled in with

stained glass by Clayton & Bell, and presented by Mrs. Ingham, of Blake Hall. The east window is a triple lancet, with circular window over, and two coupled side windows to sanctuary. The clerestory is arcaded both inside and out, with a lancet window pierced through the middle of each bay. The roofs are open, and of pitch pine; the principals of nave, chancel, and aisle roofs spring from stone corbel shafts with moulded capitals, the spandrels being filled in with tracery. The arches of nave arcade are moulded, and supported by stone moulded bases. The pillars are circular, and octagonal alternately, the capitals of the latter being carved.

The tower is vaulted with stone ribs springing from carved corbel shafts at the angles, the cells being filled in with local stone in thin courses. The seats are of oak throughout, the chancel stalls and screens being rich in detail, with the moulded chancel arcade, and fossil marble columns add to the appearance of the whole. The pulpit of oak, stands upon Caen stone base with green marble shafts supporting. In the panels are figures carved in oak, representing St. John, St. Paul, and St. Augustine of Canterbury, the divisional triple shafts being in walnut. The pulpit is presented by the parishioners as a testimonial to the late respected vicar, the Rev. R. Maude. The font is of green marble, the bowl being square externally; on each side is a quatrefoil sunk panel, with carving inserted, representing the four rivers of Paradise, with green marble caps and base, the small columns and centre shaft being Irish red marble. The reredos is profusely enriched with carvings, diaper panels, marble figures, and the caps, bases, and panels being in Derbyshire spar, the divisional clustered shafts in Cornish spar; the arcading on either side is executed in Caen stone.

KILDWICK AND FARNHILL.

LEAVING Kildwick station, inquiring visitors first note the peculiarities of the bridge spanning the river Aire at Kildwick, the erection of which is attributed to the Canons of Bolton in the reign of Edward II. The compotus of Bolton, which begins in 1290 and ends in 1325, contains several references to the building or rebuilding of Kildwick Bridge. Thus in the compotus for 1305 we have the entry, "In constructione pontis de Kildwyk, in p'te, xxil. xiis ixd." It was an extensive work, lasting several years. The bridge is of four arches, widely differing in architectural features—two of them being pointed and two rounded. The process of widening the bridge has destroyed its ancient appearance. The history of this ancient structure, and that of Kildwick church, is in a measure bound up with that of the manor. About the year 1150 the manor and vill of Kildwick (or Childewyck) were given to the canons of Embsay by Cecilia de Romilli, who founded the priory, and continued the donation after its removal to Bolton. Upon the dissolution of the monasteries the manor and village of

Kildwick were granted by Henry VIII. to Robert Wilkinson and Thomas Drake, of Halifax parish. In the second year of Edward VI. a license was granted to Drake to alienate the manor to John Garforth, of Farnhill, by whose family, in 1559, it was sold to Hugh Currer, from whom it has lineally descended to its present owner, Sir Matthew Wilson, of Eshton.

The church of St. Andrew, at Kildwick, is one of two in the whole deanery of Craven mentioned in Domesday Book. It was dedicated by Cecilia de Romilli to God and the canons of Embsay. In 1318 it was destroyed by the Scots in their ravages of the north of England. After the dissolution of the religious houses the rectory, with the advowson of the vicarage, was granted by Henry VIII. to Christ Church, Oxford. The fabric of the church, which seems to have been almost entirely renewed in the reign of Henry VIII., is unusually long, being 146 ft. in length, and 49 ft. in width, including the aisles. The nave itself is only 18½ ft. wide. From the great length to which the choir has been extended the edifice has long been designated the "lang kirk in Craven." It consists of nave and chancel, with aisles running the whole length of the structure, and a square tower at the west end, built in the fourteenth century. The eastern face of the tower presents unmistakable evidence of a higher-pitched roof than the present one. The nave has six bays of arches and the chancel four, the latter awkwardly cut off from the body of the church by a screen fixed in the centre of a bay. There is no chancel arch. The windows of the north aisle have middle-pointed tracery, and those on the south side have been similar; but in the fifteenth-century reconstruction of the church these were very clumsily made square-headed to the evident detriment of the appearance. Of the original structure little idea can be formed. From the existence of a mutilated abacus, now forming the base of one of the piers at the west end of the nave, its Norman origin is discoverable, as similar use has been made of other carved stones of corresponding date. The font is early fifteenth-century work, but the font-cover, which is very elaborate and lofty, has been lately set up, the original carved design having been ruthlessly made up into cabinet work.

At the west end of the north aisle lies the recumbent figure of Sir Robert de Steveton (or Steeton), who died in 1307. It is interesting as showing the armour of a knight of the period. The feet are crossed, and rest upon a dog. There is no ancient stained glass in the building, although some is mentioned by Whitaker. The east end of the north aisle forms a memorial chapel of the Currer family, and a corresponding space divided by parclose screens is used as a vestry. The registers commence in 1575, and are in fine preservation, as are also the church books generally. In one of them is a curious inventory of articles belonging to the church in 1694, mention being made of "one penance stool," and other curious relics. The church-wardens' accounts, dating from the same period, are full of interest to the antiquarian. There is also an ancient paten of silver, curiously wrought, date uncertain. The

Rev. Mr. Greenstreet, referring to the singular and unnecessary length of the church, which has another peculiarity, that the floor is upon one level, from the base of the tower to the altar, said that in 1881, at his request, Mr. G. E. Street, the eminent church architect, prepared a plan and report, showing the way in which the eastern part of the church might be rearranged with a view to rendering it more convenient for public worship. In his report Mr. Street said :—

The church is a very singular one. It originally appears to have consisted of a nave and aisles four bays in length, and of a chancel with aisles of two bays. In the fifteenth century the church, apparently being found not large enough, was lengthened by the addition of a chancel and aisles four bays in length ; the old nave and chancel were then thrown together and treated as a nave, and the church was left with continuous arcades on each side of ten bays. In the present arrangement the structural divisions of the church are ignored, the chancel only occupies the eastern part of the old chancel, and is arranged in so irregular and unsatisfactory a way as very much to spoil the effect of the church, and to be extremely inconvenient for the use of the choir. In my plan I have restored the chancel to what I conceive was probably its ancient state. I have provided stalls for the choir in its western portion, and have brought the altar forward so as to leave space for a vestry in the eastern bay behind it, which, as there is no trace of an ancient vestry, was probably its original position. In this way the altar is brought somewhat nearer the people, and in order to compensate for the slight loss of accommodation I propose to move the organ one bay to the east of its present position. This will allow of the seats which take its place, and of those in the aisles, being less blocked out from sight of the chancel than they are now. The old screens are interesting, and should be restored on the sides and at the end.

The cost of the alteration as proposed by Mr. Street was £685. Unfortunately the plan accompanying the report has been lost while in the hands of a gentleman at a distance, and whether or not the Vicar feared there was no likelihood of the very desirable alteration being carried out. It seemed difficult to understand why the church was enlarged to its present length four centuries ago, as it is much too large now.

At a considerable elevation above the church, and commanding a fine view of the surrounding valley, stands Kildwick Hall, the residence of Mr. John Brigg, who holds a long lease from Sir Mathew Wilson, the owner of the property. As already stated, the manor, and with it the old manor-house, passed from the Garforth family to Hugh Currer in 1559. This family were resident at Kildwick half a century before. By a descent of the property through a succession of Currers, of whom the leading descendant was alternately Hugh and Henry, the property came to Henry Currer, barrister, whose daughter Dorothy became the second wife of the celebrated Dr. Richardson, of Bierley Hall. By lineal descent the Richardson property passed to the late Miss Frances Richardson Currer, at whose death in 1861 her half-brother, Sir Mathew Wilson, succeeded, and in whom now vests the Bierley, Gargrave, and Kildwick estates. Kildwick Hall has evidently passed through many stages of construction. Originally a humble structure of two rooms, it has attained its present proportions by a process of development reached by careful thought on the part of its owners. The most

important extension is attributed to the Henry Currer alluded to, whose arms, quartered with those of the Fothergills of London, from whom he obtained a wife and fortune, appear above the principal entrance. The hall nestles in a bosom of verdure, protected well to the north by plantations. It is an excellent specimen of the squire-archal residence of mediæval times, the more recent additions and alterations being well in keeping with the whole. In this respect the property has not suffered while in the hands of its present tenant. Mr. Brigg's occupation only commenced in 1882, but since then much has been done to restore the character of the building.

The hall contains several good rooms, one of which is heavily panelled and wainscotted in black oak. Upon Mr. Brigg's entry, however, the room contained a handsome marble chimneypiece, of modern make, completely hiding the massive fireplace which formerly existed, and which has now been opened out, and the massive arch supporting it exposed to view. Above it are hung weapons of the chase and implements of ancient warfare—pikes from Flodden and armour of the Cromwellian period; beside it stands a more peaceful relic in the shape of a spinning-wheel of polished oak. The furniture of this room is antique throughout, and in beautiful condition. The hall is approached through a gateway supported upon each side by a sculptured lion rampant, and in front is an old-fashioned garden of great luxuriance. The pleasure of a visit is much enhanced by the cordial reception the visitors received from the host, Mr. John Brigg, who is none the less gratified at the appreciation manifested by visitors. Mr. Brigg, is always pleased to meet with persons of tastes kindred with his own.

We next pay a visit to Farnhill Hall, the residence of Mr. F. E. Slingsby, who is equally hearty in his reception of visitors. This building differs materially from the one just referred to. Situated upon a charming knoll about half a mile beyond Kildwick, from which a fine view is obtained of Flasby Fells, beyond Skipton, Farnhill Hall has evidently been erected with a view to defence. The walls are in no place less than 6ft. and at some points are 8½ft. thick. A square tower battlemented forms a conspicuous object at each corner of the building. The principal entrance fronts to the north, and is protected by an overhanging chamber, heavily corbelled, and exceedingly picturesque. The visitors were shown the secret entrance to this chamber, from which an outlook was doubtless obtained in troublous times. After the battle of Bannockburn the Scots overran the north of England, and Craven, rich in cattle, received frequent visits. One of the earliest references to the Farnhill family was as a consequence of these inraids. In the compotus of Bolton Abbey there appears under the records of the year 1318 the entry, "Will de Farnel, destructo per Scotos, viz. xd.," the then resident being thus assisted by the bounty of the Canons of Bolton, who were equal suffers. The family, however must have been established in the neighbourhood two centuries before, as Adam Fernil, Lord of the

Manor, was a party to a charter as old as the reign of Stephen. Farnhill Hall, although the date of its erection is uncertain, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting buildings in this neighbourhood.

Bradford [From the *L. M. Weekly Supplement.*] W. CLARIDGE.

KELDHOLME PRIORY.

AND will your mother pity me
Who am a maiden most forlorn?
Christabel answered—Woe is me!
She died the hour that I was born.
I have heard the grey-haired friar tell
How on her death-bed she did say,
That she should hear the castle bell
Strike twelve upon my wedding day.
O mother dear! that thou wert here!
I would, said Geraldine, she were!

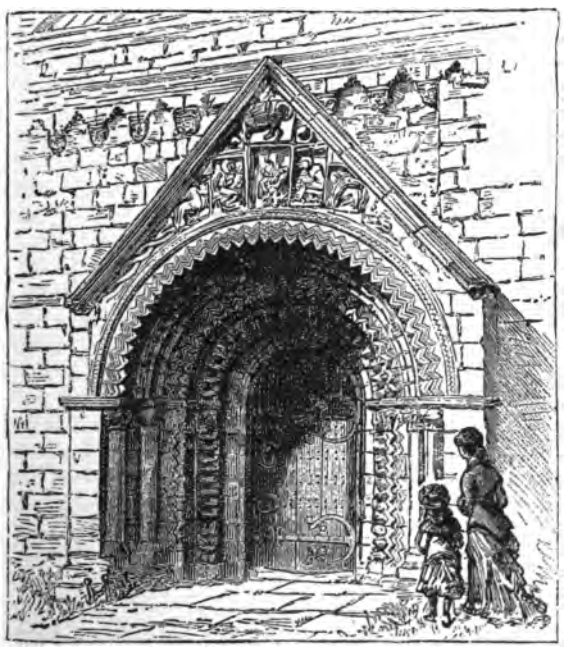
YOUNG Robert d' Estoteville, grandson of Robert who was nick named Fronte-de-Bœuf, the companion of the Conqueror, was an active young soldier, conspicuous in the wars in Normandy. He defended the castle of Dive against King Henry, in 1106, and bore a prominent part in the battle of Tenchebrai, on 28th September of that year. His fate is thus recorded:—"Robert d' Estoteville, William de Ferrars, and many others, were taken prisoners, some of whom were released by the King's favour, while others for their offences were detained in prison till the day of their death. The King sent over to England all his enemies taken in the war, condemning William, Earl of Morton, Robert d' Estoteville, and several others, to perpetual imprisonment." This condemnation did not, however, endure in the fulness of its severity. Robert, who was released, is said to have married Helewisia, and was reconciled to the King, who made him Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1120. D' Estoteville had then a manor or military station at Kirby Moorside—or, as it seems to have been written more correctly of old, Moreshead—a possession most probably falling to him as the heir of his Norse mother, Erneburga, a Yorkshire heiress. Be this as it may, below the ramparts of the "castle," and on the banks of the river Dove, some three quarters of a mile to the south east of the town, there was a large meadow, in native speech a holm, called Keldholm, in a bend of the stream. This designation was given to the meadow by the Norsemen who had founded Kirby—the church-town at the head or confines of the moor—in allusion to some "Keld" or well it contained, or perhaps because it abounded in springs, as Spring Head and other adjacent names still testify.

Robert d' Estoteville, before 1135, the year of the death of King Henry, gave this meadow to the service of God, founding there a convent of Cistercian nuns. D' Estoteville was a leader at the Battle of the Standard; he died in the reign of King Stephen, being succeeded

by another Robert. The status of the convent was improved by King Henry Beauclerc himself becoming a donor. The charter of foundation called its site "the place of Keldeholm, near the river Duva;" the convent being dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the establishment, when raised, being known as the church of St. Mary de Keldeholm. The original charter of foundation is not forthcoming, but we have a statement in the *Hundred Rolls* by the Prioress in 1276, as to a gift of King Henry, and also a confirmation by King John, "given by the hand of S. Archdeacon of Wells, at Scardeburgh, 3rd February, 1201," which is a very excellent substitute for it. The place of Keldeholm, says the charter, was of the gift of Robert de Stuteville, and by the concession of William de Stuteville, his heir. The "meadow" comprised the modern township of Keldholm, an area of 729a.-2r.-24p., as described by these boundaries:—"All the land of Evenwit, viz., from the lime kiln (*rogo calcis*), near the Dove, by the ditch of the nuns up to the boundary of the land of the monks of St. Mary, York, in the valley (of Catterbeck) towards the east, and by the bottom of the same valley up to Chatwait, and by the proper division between Kirkebi Moreshead and Stivelington to Chatwait, by the valley up to the boundary of Little Edeston; and thence up the river Dove, and from that point of the river Dove by the stream up to the said kiln." This boundary can be traced at the present day with the utmost accuracy. The existence of the lime kiln is an incident of some interest. We need not doubt that it had already supplied the lime used in building the "castle," and, being now transferred to the nuns as one of their necessary possessions, it would obviously furnish also that needed for the erection of their church and monastic buildings.

One of the most obscure of the pedigrees of the feudal barons of Yorkshire has been that of Stuteville. There is, however, in the *Rolls of Parliament*, a piece of information which removes much of the obscurity. In 1335, Thomas Wake, of Lyddel, claimed Knaresborough as having been granted to his ancestors. Henry II. gave by charter to one William de Stuteville, Knaresborough and Ponteburg, by which gift he was seized, and King Richard confirmed the seizin. After the death of William, Robert entered as son and heir, and King John confirmed his seizin. Robert died seized, and after his death Eustace, his son, was within age, and in wardship of King John. To this Eustace King Henry gave his heritage, but retained Knaresborough and Ponteburg. Eustace died without heir of his body, when the estates reverted to Nicholas (Nigel) as cousin and heir of William, father of Robert, father of Eustace. From Nicholas the right descended to Baldwin (Wake) as to son and heir, from him to Thomas, who now demands. Eustace is said to have been a posthumous child--à nestre en la ventre de sa mere en temps de la mort de son piere." Thomas prays that they will have regard that the said Nicholas as well as the said Eustace was posthumous—En la ventre de sa mere . . . heritage charger vers le dit Roi John, ne le dit John poait l'eritage l'Enfant qui fust à nestre a nul . . . son sank rendre."

In addition to the Stuteville gift, we have a list of the minor donors :—Turstan de Bergeby gave six bovates in Bergeby ; William de Vesci, with the concession of Burga, his wife, gave one mark and the mill of Torenton (Thornton) ; and Hugh le Tuit gave the mill of Edeston. This was the commencement of the priory. Burga, wife of William de Vesci, was the sister of William de Stuteville ; her gift is evidence of the general interest taken by the family in the establishment. At a period a generation later, Nicholas de Stuteville gives to the nuns four marks in the mill of Gilling-mor, his gift being witnessed by William Brito, Walter de Saverby, Walter de Mulcaster, Robert de



NORMAN PORCH AT ADEL (TYPICAL).

Karwindelawe, Thomas de Cheu, and Martin, the Sergeant of Kirkeby. William Brito was an official who flourished in 1201 ; in Martin, the Sergeant, we have one of the castle retainers, and by his presence the probability is that the charter was executed either at the castle or at the convent.

Of the church or monastic buildings, there is absolutely nothing left to guide us to an idea either of their size or dignity. As, however, in the case of Arthington, a contemporary foundation, we may take the

Norman church at Adel as a type, perhaps a fac-simile of that erected to serve the nuns. But if the structures are lost, we have still the valley in which they were raised to point out that they were the front of a scene of gentle loveliness, from the brink of the bright sparkling water, with the brown road following the windings of the stream in the bottom of the valley, across the green meadows and golden cornlands up to the purple fringe of heather which lined the crests of the hills, and down to the leafy shades of Edeston, rising to the horizon more than a mile away to the south. It was no new scene of savage grandeur, turned over for reclamation to the hand of unceasing toil. On the west of it was the ancient town of Kirby Moresheued, on the east of it was the black solitude of Spaunton-moor, where the actors of the long past days had left the memorials of their struggles in the tumuli dotting the surface.

The chronicler, Roger de Houeden, narrates, under the year 1200, a circumstance which must have had some influence upon the priory. He says, "In the same year William de Stuteville gave to John, King of England, 3000 marks of silver to obtain judgment for the barony of William de Mowbray, which De Stuteville claimed in the King's court against De Mowbray. For it should be known that Robert Grundebeof, the great grandfather of the said William de Stuteville, held the said barony on the conquest of England; but the said Robert Grundebeof, leaving King Henry, son of the Conqueror, gave in his adhesion to Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, when he claimed the Kingdom of England in right of his father against Henry his younger brother; and in the battle which took place between the said two brothers, King Henry and Robert the Duke of Normandy at Tenchebrai, Henry was victorious, and took Robert and kept him in prison until the end of his life, as he also did Robert Grundebeof; and King Henry gave his barony to Nigel de Aubigny, the great grandfather of the said William de Mowbray. It ought also to be known that Robert de Stuteville, father of the before-named William de Stuteville, in the time of King Henry II., laid claim to the said barony against Roger de Mowbray, father of the before-named William de Mowbray; on which an arrangement was made between them, by which Roger de Mowbray gave to Robert de Stuteville Kirby-in-Moreshead, with its appurtenances, together with nine (or ten) Knights' fees, for his homage, in full discharge of his claim. But because this arrangement had not been confirmed in the King's court and sanctioned by his authority, the said William de Stuteville again laid claim to the said barony in the court of John, King of England. However, after the contention had been long carried on, at length, by the consent of the kingdom, and at the King's desire, peace and a final reconciliation were made between the two, to the following effect—William de Stuteville renounced his claim which he made against De Mowbray respecting his barony, and William de Mowbray gave to Stuteville, for his homage, and for the renunciation of his claims, nine Knights' fees in addition to twelve pounds of yearly revenue. And then, all their disputes being settled on both sides, they became

reconciled in the presence of King John, at Lue (Louth) in Lindesey, a vill of the bishops of Lincoln, on the first Sunday in Septuagesima."

In addition to the gifts above recited, we have the charter of William, son of William, son of Nicholas de Habbeton, who gives ten bovates of land in the fields of Little Habeton and all his arable land in the place called Benediflat, and common pasture in the place called Milngrene, near the bridge of Neusom, these being witnesses Walter de Percehay, William de Harum, Roger Grymes, William Luvel, Knights; Bernard de Berg, James de Holm, John de Yeland, John de Buleford, Richard de Kyrkeby, Nicholas de Fedmore, Walter Romanus. As a general confirmation we have King John's charter dated at Eggeton 4 Feb., 1201, which includes "the church of St. Mary de Keldeholm near the river called Duva—all the lands of Evenwit which they have of the gift of William de Stuteville—of the gift of Ernald de Benefeld the land of Undercroft "de *Subtus Croftoniam*" which belonged to Durand and Inthekil, viz., two bovates which William, son of the priest (presbyter) and two bovates which Rannulf held—of the gift of Ede, son of Askill de Abbeton, a carucate in Habeton—of the gift of William, son of Ingald of Little Habeton, two bovates of land there with a toft that was Ulric's —of the gift of Norman de Redeman, land in Tranetherne—of the gift of Ralph Paen (the *Peacock*) and Columba (the *Dove*) his wife and William their son and heir, 25 acres of arable land in his cultivated domain of Engleby—of the gift of William, son of Columba de Engleby, seven acres and a perch and a half of his domain in Engleby—of the gift of William, son of Ralph and Havice his wife, one acre in Engleby —of the gift of Robert de Malteby and Emma his wife, two bovates in Nunnington—of the gift of Jordan de Bolteby and Sybil his wife, two bovates in Nunnington and one in Faddemor—of the gift of William, son of Columba, two carucates in Engleby, and of Offnans twenty-eight acres in the same town—of the gift of Robert de Surdeval, two tofts in Bodlum—witnesses, Hugh Bardulf, Peter de Pratellis, Hugh de Nevillle, Simon de Pateshul.

We now know from the statement of Houeden why the nuns should have been so particular in getting King John's confirmation. The statement of the Prioress made before the Commissioners of *Quo Warranto* sent in 1276 to enquire into territorial encroachments was as to common of pasture in Hoton Underheth, where she claimed the pasture according to the charter of King Henry I., which she produced, granting to the nuns pasture in the wood of Yevewith and also in Farndale and in Brandesal, for their animals, sheep, pigs, and cows. Alan de Walkyngham, who opposed, said the former Kings held the pasture to their separate use until Hugh Bigot, who married widow Joan Wake, *née* Stuteville, occupied the forest between the Syvene and Dove, and that the Prioress's predecessor first had common of pasture in the time of the said Hugh, which was in the year 1247. How this could have been held in the face of the charter is not stated, and the matter was obscure.

The following list completes the number of places in which the nuns were known to have held lands—Bergeby, Berg great and little, Bodlum, Brandeshal, Crofton, Cropton, Edeston, Evenwit, Fadmore, Farendale, Gilling-more Mill, Habbeton great and little, Horseford, Ingleby, Keldholm, Kirkeby, Nunnington, Rogeberg, Thornton Mill, and Tranethorne.

Keldholme is a typical instance of a mediæval priory of nuns. Its birth was due to the social exigences, and perhaps in no small degree to the misdeeds of the aristocracy. It bore the guise of religion and had to march in the train of the church, but it had equally to fill a gap in the polity of the founders. Its later efforts cling more to the things in being than to those in possibility. It was a scene of snug serenity and voluptuous meekness of which it possessed all the material adjuncts in picturesque and romantic beauty of situation, in pride of association and in fulness of endowment. The names of its inmates mark its rise for the convenience of the high-born, its decline is in the embrace of the lowly. It rose at the call of a great feudal lord beneath the frowning walls of his encroaching stronghold, and perhaps also at the request of some of the female members of his family, declining in age, and no longer capable of enjoying the pleasures of the world, but desirous of sharing in what they believed to be the incipient pleasures of heaven. It gained from its founder that sustenance which it required for a start in life, and then, having his countenance and the authority of social superiority, so long as its fold enclosed only lambs of the flocks of the whitest fleece, it gained an increase of wealth from those of his dependents over whom it could establish an ascendency either by the offer of a desirable retreat, or by the glamour of the mere patronage of an exalted caste.

The career of the house is almost without a record, and entirely domestic. In such of the archiepiscopal records as have been opened for consultation, it is barely mentioned, although they cover such a length of time as should have given publicity to its affairs had they been attended to. Of its internal economy and discipline, we know but little, and that is only illustrative of moral deterioration and increasing inefficiency. A full century of its existence is wrapped up in entire obscurity. The names of its rulers are absolutely lost. In its first days we find that Galfrid was "the master of the nuns;" in its last we learn that John Porter, chaplain, received a pension from the sequestered funds of the convent. It would seem therefore that during its whole career a priest had been supported by the house. It gathered no ecclesiastical strength, for it does not appear to have possessed the advowson of a single church, or the control of a single mind beyond the precincts of its cloisters. No entry relating to the valuation of this house occurs in Pope Nicholas's Taxation of 1291. A score of years later than this, in the early part of the fourteenth century, we find confusion existing in the house; and I take the fact of its broken and sadly incomplete list of Prioresses to be certain evidence of misrule and

general ecclesiastical degradation. From Robert, the founder, the patronage descended, like that of the sister establishment at Rosedale, to the Wakes lords of Liddel, by the marriage of Isabel (? Joan), heiress of the Stutevilles, in or about the year 1250. In the 11th, Henry IV., 1409, Edmund de Holland, Earl of Kent, died seized of two parts of the advowson of this priory, then valued at £2 per annum, which had been previously given by King Edward III. to Edmund, Earl of Kent, his uncle.

The following names of PRIORESSES have been preserved.

Sybill, occurs temp. Henry I.

.....

.....occurs in 1247; she was succeeded by

.. ..who occurs in 1276, and may have been

BEATRIX DE CRENDON; resigned 1292. Possibly she should be called Grendon. On the 16th May, 1259, the King granted to Sybill Dayrel, Peter de Grendon, and Alice, his wife, sister of Sybill, on account of their poverty, that of the £56 17s., owing to the King, of the debt of Ralph Dayrel, formerly the brother of Sybill and Alice, the money should be paid by instalments. In 1279, Thomas de Normanville, the King's seneschal, is ordered to take possession of all the lands, &c., of which Ralph de Grendon, of Lynelaund, died, seized in capite.

3rd Nones Feb., 1293. — EMMA DE STAPELTON, who is stated to have been confirmed in her office on that date, and to have resigned in 1301. She is said to have been a daughter of Sir Nicholas de Stapleton the Justice, who bore arms, *Arg. a lion rampant sa.*

Who succeeded her does not appear, but there has been an appointment before the re-election of the above

8th March, 1308. — EMMA DE STAPELTON, who was chosen by the convent and confirmed by the Archbishop. Her re-election must have been at a period of dire confusion, for

30th July, 1308. — JOAN DE PYKERING, a nun of Rosedale, was appointed by the Archbishop, 3rd Kal. Aug., 1308, there being no person in Keldholm, held by the Archbishop to be fit for the office. The nuns of Keldholm vehemently opposed this appointment, and finally Joan de Pykering gave in her resignation. She was appointed Prioress of Rosedale, 12th January, 1311. So far as we know

EMMA DE STAPELTON resumed the rule. The writer of the Stapleton pedigree in the *Yorks. Arch. ana Top. Journal*, viii., p. 87, says, she retired on account of ill health (*cessit ob infirmit. corporis*) in 1317, but the list in the *Mon. Ang.* says,

7th March, 1315. — EMMA DE EBOR was confirmed on the nones of March, 1315.

From this period there is another long gap in the succession.

MARGARET ASLABY is the next Prioress who occurs. She resigned through infirmity of body in 1406, on the 25th June of which year

25th June, 1406. — ALICE DE SANDEFORDE was elected; she may have been succeeded by

AGNES WANDESFORD, who died in 1461. The remains of a fine old hall of the Wandesfords are at Kirklington, near Ripon.

25th Sept., 1461.	ELENA WANDESFORTH was elected. A commission for a fresh election was issued 14th November, 1464, in consequence of her death, but who was chosen to succeed her was
November, 1464.	Not recorded, unless it was KATHERINE ANLABY, the next Prioress who occurs, upon whose death
20th August, 1497.	ELIZABETH DARREL, who had been previously Prioress of Basedale, was confirmed. Upon her death it is probable she was succeeded by one whose name is now lost.
9th May, 1534.	ELIZABETH LYON was the last Prioress. At the dissolution she had a pension of £5 per annum granted to her, which she enjoyed in 1553. John Porter, the Chaplain, had a pension of £4, which he also enjoyed in the same year. It is said at the time of the surrender, the establishment contained the Prioress and eight nuns.

No seal of this nunnery has yet been discovered, nor any description of the site or fabric, not one vestige of which remains. According to the will of Jon of Croxton, of York, chandler, who died in 1383, he leaves 6s. 8d. "to the nunnery of Keldholme to thar dorter," and as to the other houses mentioned by him, he generally leaves wax goods, it may be presumed that the nuns were then rebuilding or repairing their dormitory, for which money would be acceptable. Of the inmates we perhaps know less than of any other Yorkshire house. They seem, however, to have been drawn from or mixed with good families. In 1400, Lady Joan Hesilrigg leaves to each nun of Keldholme, 12d. In 1402, Sir John Depeden, Knight, left the nuns of Keldholme 20s., to pray for him. In 1436-7, Robert Greenwood, clerk, advocate of the court of York, leaves to his cousin Domina Isabella de Heton, a nun of Keldholme, his Primer and a gilded zone. The particulars of the return in the Valor, 26th, Henry VIII. relating to Keldholme are lost, nothing remaining but the following:—"Prioratus de Keldome, worth clear per annum in spirituals and temporals, £29 6s. 1d.; the tithe thereof, £2 18s. 7½d." It is also remarkable that there are no ministers' accounts of this priory remaining in the Augmentation office. The site of the house, with that of Rosedale, was given, 30th Henry VIII., to Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland, whose ancestors were then said to have been called the founders, although this was clearly not the case. On the site was erected an oil and flax mill, and in 1813, when part of the old foundations were cleared away, several tombstones and stone coffins were discovered, a mark of the burial of exalted people.

Eastmead, in his *History of Kirby Moorside*, says of the modern establishment, "It is in a romantic situation through which the road passes to Malton and Scarborough. The spinning of flax and tow is carried on here by Mr. Caleb Fletcher, who has a neat dwelling-house and a convenient factory, surmounted with cupola, and displaying in every part neatness and attention. The Dove, which sinks in its channel a little below Yawdwath, rises, or rather flows from the limestone which forms the bank on the east of the beck, about a quarter of a mile from

the site of the Priory, in a constant and often rapid stream; so as to drive the machinery of Mr. Fletcher's factory. The Priory stood principally on the ground which is now the approach to his house; into which you enter not far from Keldholme bridge. A few years ago, as some workmen were levelling the ground, they dug up several stone coffins, tesselated pavements, and fragments of pillars. Mr. Fletcher did not preserve any of the pavement; but two or three fragments of the pillars are preserved in the north wall of his garden, which is spacious and laid out with taste. The river Dove runs at the extremity of it, beyond which there lies picturesque and interesting scenery. Christopher Robinson, Esq., to whom Ravenswick wood and a great portion of the land about Keldholme belongs, and who, with Mr. Fletcher, assisted me in the history of the Priory, has in his possession eight pieces of brass called celts, which are said to have been dug from the site of it. A small bell also and a small brass hammer were found with them. On the east side of Keldholme bridge is a house of the cottage size, which was anciently called Keldholme Hall. It is now the property of Mr. Fletcher, who has a will, dated 1695, in which William Hill, mariner of Whitby, gave to his four daughters that dwelling-house known by the name of Keldholme Hall, together with all the tithes of Keldholme Priory. The house, though small, has been finished in a rather superior style. It has, at present, a fire-place faced with Dutch tiles, which, it is said, were put there in the latter part of the eighteenth century, by a gentleman who intended it for the residence of a favourite female."

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

ROSEDALE PRIORY

A relic of a better age, debased
And turned to worldly use, where gold and greed
Strive in the place of prayer; and yet
The hallowed stones their sacred mission tell,
Nor suffer gain to still the voice of praise.

ROSEDALE PRIORY was founded by Robert, son of Nicholas de Stuteville, as Burton says, *temp.* Richard I., as others say, before the year 1190. Like the sister priory at Keldholme it was under the protection and patronage of the highest of the Yorkshire aristocracy, although it was hidden away in one of the wildest districts. In 1200 we find from the *Chancellor's Roll* and the *Oblate Roll*, that William de Stuteville gave one palfrey for confirmation of the nuns of Rusendale; but though the reason for the application was obvious, he did not make the gift entirely good, for in 1201 he is set down as owing it. This William de Stuteville was the friend and favourite whom King John in that year made Sheriff of Yorkshire, an office for which he rendered account of £1000, to have so long as he shall well and faithfully serve. William died in 1203. In 1205 Nicholas his brother made

a fine with the King of 10,000 marks for his heirship in his lands, and pledges the Castle of Knaresborough and Boroughbridge, to remain in the King's hands until the payment of the fine. On the 19th Oct., 1233, Peter de Rivall, custodian of all the lands which belonged to Nicholas de Stuteville, is ordered to give full seizin to Hugh Wake, who had married Johanna, one of the daughters, and heirs of Nicholas, and to William de Mastac, to whom the King gave another, the younger of the daughters, then in the King's custody. On the 2nd Nov., 1241, the King informs Robert de Crepping, that Johanna, wife of Hugh Wake, who died in that year, made a fine of £100 for having her seizin of the lands which belonged to Eustace de Stuteville, her kinsman (*consanguineus*), the heirship of which belonged to the said Johanna, and because she received £50 of that fine by Baldwin de Ver, Guy Wake, and Simon de Torp, she was to have full seizin. She also obtained the custody and maritage of the heir.

The Common Seal of the Priory here shewn bore the legend SIGILLVM - DE - VALLIA ROSARVM; the device was the Virgin and Child seated under a canopy, the ground diapered. This seal cannot, however, be earlier than the fourteenth century.

Simultaneous with John's confirmation of William Stuteville's gift, there was another transaction which had to be finished before the domain of the nuns could be considered safe and complete, and that was the absorption of the claims of the local landholder. It was duly effected and ratified by King John when he was at Scarborough, on the 3rd February, 1201. The King there confirmed the donation which William de Russedale made to the nuns of Russedale, and they shall hold all the lands and their appurtenances according to the charter of William and Turgis his son. The witnesses to this confirmation are William de Stuteville, Robert de Turnham, Hugh Bardolf, Eustace de Vesci, and Simon de Patishull—the greatest magnates of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Itinerant John having completed this transaction and the Keldholme business of which we have read, moved next day to Eggeton; on the 5th he was at Gyseburn, on the 6th at Skelton, and on the 7th at Durham. It is within the power of careful investigation to prove that the monasteries of north Yorkshire owe their origin to a very

few of the leading territorial families. How the Wakes, an East Riding family, were introduced into the compact we may learn when we know that in 1206 King John granted to Agnes Wake, daughter of William de Humet, her land of Wichendon, held of the King in capite, and given to her on her marriage. The family of Humet, or Humez, were hereditary Constables of Normandy. We have an account of them under the priory of Arthington.

One of the first transactions of Joan Wake after her second marriage was in aid of the nuns of Rosedale. In 1242, Eustace de Stuteville gave to the Prioress and convent a carucate of land in Middleton of Joan's fee. In 1244, the Sheriff is ordered to take possession of the lands which Nicholaa de Stuteville held in dowry from Eustace de Stuteville, formerly her husband. In this light the gift of the lands in Middleton assumes the form of a death-gift for the repose of the soul of Eustace. In the same year William de Percy paid a fine of 100 marks for his transgression in taking Nicholaa to wife without the license of the King, in whose gift she was. In 1248 the Barons of the Exchequer are ordered that of the 700 marks which Hugh Bigod returned per annum, of the fine which Joan, his wife, made for the custody of the land and heir of Hugh Wake, and for his marriage, and for her own marriage to whom she wished, the Earl of Savoy might free 200 marks of his fee every year. In 1251, Hugh Wake, and Isabel his wife, gave one mark for a *novel disseisin.* The Wakes were then the patrons of the Priory; in 1310 the patronage was in Thomas Wake, a minor and the King's ward.

It is not certain whether the nuns were Benedictines or Cistercians. Dugdale calls them Benedictines; Gervase of Canterbury, says the sisters were "monales Albæ"—white nuns. Their house and the whole of their property lay in one of the most solitary and secluded portions of Yorkshire; it was chiefly in Rosedale, Cropton, Cawthorne, Newton, Lockton, and Pickering. They had also a few more distant possessions, and the patronage of Thorpenhow Church in the diocese of Carlisle. King Edward's charter specifies the boundaries of the first gift of the vale of Rosedale, viz., from the boundaries of Peter de Brus in length easterly up to Anchon,and in breadth from the highway leading from Anchon up to Syvene,—Eustace de Stuteville's grant including the place and meadows of Baggethwaite, from Smalesikesheued up to Syvene, and from Smalesikes up to the land of the nuns towards the west.

The particulars of the estates cannot now be given on account of the original record for the deanery of Rydal being no longer extant. Dugdale gives a charter of King Edward III., dated at York, 26th February, in the second year of his reign, confirming a charter of King John and various other donations. King John's charter is as follows:—

John, by the grace of God, &c., greeting. Know ye that we have conceded, and by this our charter confirmed, to God, to the Blessed Mary, and to St. Lawrence Rosedale, and to the nuns there serving God, the reasonable gift which Robert de Stuteville made to them in free, pure, and perpetual alms, of the vale of Rosedale with all its appurtenances, by different charters of the same Robert; and of the

whole meadow of Bagghthwaite as the charter of the said Robert which the aforesaid possess, properly tested; and in like manner all the tan-bark of the wood of the same Robert as far as Cropton, cut under supervision of our foresters. Wherefore, we wish and firmly enjoin that the aforesaid nuns may have and hold the aforesaid tenements, and all their appurtenances, well and in peace, freely and quietly, wholly and fully, in all places and things, with all liberties and free customs belonging to them, as is aforesaid. Witnesses, Peter de Bruys, Roger de Monte Begun,* Matthew Fitz Hurbert, William de Cantelupe, Simon de Pateshill, James de Poterne, Galfrid Letterel. Done by the hand of Hugo de Welle at York, 16th August, in the 11th year of our reign.

King Edward's charter further gives:—

Also confirmation of various donations, including his forge in Baggethwaite, given by Eustace de Stuteville. All that John Wake, son and heir of Sir Baldwin Wake, for himself and his heirs gave to the nuns in Rosedale; also of confirmation of the gift of Rosedale by Thomas Wake, Lord of Liddell, son and heir of John Wake; also of the confirmation of the gift of the vale of Rosedale by the charter of Robert de Stuteville, son and heir of Nicholas; also of the gift of Thorppenhou in the diocese of Carlisle, by Sibilla de Valoniis in her free widowhood. In 1201, Philip Escrop rendered an account for William de Stuteville of £114 0s. 4d. of the farm of Cumberland, and Stuteville also paid 64s. 6d., remaining of the farm of the Provostry in 1200. In 1201, Nicholas Stuteville paid 100s. that he might not be sent to service across the sea. On the 19th June, 1222, the King orders the Sheriff of Cumberland to take possession of the land which Sibilla de Valoniis holds in capite in Torpenneu, and to ascertain by inquisition what is the annual value of the land. In 1223, Roger de Quency paid a fine of 50 marks for the custody of his land in Torpenho, which had belonged to Sibilla de Valoniis, the custody belonging to this Roger by reason of his guardianship of her son and heir. Eustace de Stuteville, her son and heir, was also in the guardianship of the said Roger. Eustace de Stuteville, son of Robert, confirmed the gift of Sibilla de Valoniis.

The charter continues:—Also of the gift by Alan Malkake (who flourished in 1200) of one bovate in Lokton, the seat of a sheep-walk, and one acre in Katilscroft (?Ketelscroft) at Bunscarlit; also land in Ketelthorpe, and a meadow in Mideldayl in the meadow of Pykering, near the meadow of Galfrid, son of Walter, son of Tocke, towards the east, and reaching from the water of Pykeringe, in length to the water of Costa, and pasturage for 200 sheep. Also of the confirmation by William, son of the said Alan Malkake, of all the land from Abune-scard (above the cliff), as far as Nordrane, and the gift before named made by the said Alan. Also of the gift by William de Bolebec of two bovates of land, &c., in Newton, which he held of Hugh Bardolf, &c., near the court of the said William, and they were confirmed by Roger de Bolebec, son of William, viz., one in soccage and one in barony; and of a toft and croft lying between the toft of John de Oly and that of Ralph son of William; also pasturage by the same for 30 two-year-old sheep; also of confirmation of the same by Roger, son of the said William; also of the gift of the said Roger of a toft, &c, held of him by William Wildbru, with the homage of the said William and his heirs; also of the gift of Roesia, daughter of William de Bolebec, of one bovate in Newton, and of 2/10 rent, to be received yearly of Thomas, son of Ralph de Newton, and his heirs, for one bovate and one toft in the same place.

Also the gift by Adam, son of John de Newton, of one bovate and a toft in Newton, which he had of the gift of Alice, daughter of Thomas, son of Radulf. Also of two bovates of land, &c., in Farmaneby, by Roger de Laiston, which were held by Roger Racine. Also of the gift by Ralph Bardolf of one toft, with a croft in

*In 1202, Roger de Montbegun rendered an account of £220 for having to wife Olive, and in the same year he gave 40 marks for having seizin of his land of which he was disseized in 1197. He died before 1228, on the 30th of March of which the Sheriff of Nottingham was ordered to take into the King's hands the manor of Oswaldbec which the King had delivered to Olive, who was the wife of Roger.

Farmaneby. Hugh Bardolf made a fine with the King at Gilling, on the 8th July, 1213, of his land which Ralph, his father, held of the Constable of Chester, in the hands of the King and custody of William de Harcourt, that he himself shall serve the King well prepared with horse and arms in Poictou or where the King pleases, from the second Sunday after the octaves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 1213, for a complete year, and the King took security through Galfrid de Neville his chamberlain.

Also the gift of three bovates of land in Calthorne by Robert de Carwindelawe, Kt., of one other bovate of land there by his gift. Also of the gift by Matilda, who was the wife of Americ de Scardeburgh of six flagons of oil yearly, within fifteen days after the feast of the nativity of St. John Baptist; also by the gift of a toft in Burtondale; also of another toft above Ramesdale. Also of the gift of a salt-pan in the marsh of Cotum, &c., by William, son of Matilda de Brotton. Also of a messuage in Mideltun, &c., by Alan son of Ulf, next the cross of stone in the same vill. Also the gift of two acres, &c., in Skelton, by Terrie de Rubrok.

The witnesses to this charter were W. Archbishop of York, J. Bishop of Ely, chancellor, J. Bishop of Winchester, Edward Earl of Kent, "our dear maternal uncle," Thomas Wake, Henry de Bellomonte, John de Ros, "seneschal of our hospice," and others. In the 30th Henry III., 1245, the nuns also appear to have had a grant of 8 bovates and 50 acres of land by Hugh le Bigod and Joan (Wake née Stuteville) his wife, and they had also in 1241 half a carucate in Calthorne, and in 1317 a carucate in Newby, in which year they also received the church of Thorpenhow.

The career of this house seems to have been one of extreme obscurity, entirely in accord with the site, "which must have been intensely solitary when the priory was founded." In 1322 Archbishop Melton dispersed the nuns of Rosedale on account of the injuries their house had received from the Scots. The instrument of dispersion is dated at Bishopthorpe 20th Nov., 1322. The names of the nuns, all of them members of the territorial families, and the places they were sent to, have been preserved. Alice de Rippighale was sent to Brunnum; Avelina de Brus to Synigthwaite; Margaret de Langtoft to Thickeued; Joan Croual to Wykham; and Elena Dayvill to Hanpole, with a letter of our lady the Queen, in order that she may there complete the penance enjoined upon her. If this be the full complement of nuns, of whom one was then notoriously under penal discipline, the career of Rosedale is not to be cited in favour of the monastic system.

There is a very imperfect list of the Prioresses—

	MARIA DE ROS had the Archbishop's permission to resign her office on account of infirmity, on the 4th Kal. October (28th September), 1310. It was upon her death that the nuns petitioned the King for leave to choose a successor; the patronage being at that time in Thomas Wake, a minor in the King's ward.
12th January, 1311.	JOAN DE PYKERING, who had been appointed to Keldholme (see p. 121) was chosen; she had the Archbishop's mandate, 2nd Ides January, 1310-11. Her name does not appear in the list at the dispersion of the nuns.
	There have been some unknown circumstances before the admission of
19th January, 1335.	ISABELLA WHYTEBY, the next Prioress upon record. On her resignation

19th Jan., 1335-6.	ELIZABETH DE KIRKEBYMOORSIDE was elected. She is said to have received the Archbishop's confirmation 14th Kal. January, 1336-7, and there appears to be here some confusion of dates.
	There is another gap in the record, which should contain at least two other names before that of
	KATHERINE DE THWENG, who had ceased to be Prioress in 1410.
	There is another gap before the rule of
	MARGARET CHAMBERLAIN, who resigned her office 20th May, 1468.
22nd June, 1468.	JOAN BRAMLEY was confirmed.
	MARGARET RIPON next occurs, upon whose death or cession
1st June, 1505.	JOAN BADERSBY was appointed by the Archbishop "ratione lapsus."
5th Dec., 1521.	MATILDA FELTON was confirmed.
6th May, 1527.	MARIA MARSHALL. She was the last Prioress.

There were about ten nuns here at the surrender, their income being, according to Dugdale, £37 12s. 3d.; according to Speed, £41 13s. 8d. The domain then included apple-orchards, garden, and other accommodations; a water-mill within the precincts; a close called Ellerkar; two acres of meadow called Day-wark; six acres called You ynge; Oxclose, Prye-hills, Angrome, Hare-hills, Lath-garth, Horse-parks, the Hede, Browehede, Horse-Ing, Backe-hous-garth. The church was dedicated to St. Lawrence as well as St. Mary. It is still used wholly or in part as a parochial place of worship. The square of the cloister on the south of the church is almost entire; the buildings having been converted into dwelling-houses, barns, and other purposes. In this square on the east side, are some of the tombstones which have been placed over the nuns, with crosses and other symbols carved on them. The only name now legible is that of Catherine Meger. On a lintel at the end of one of the offices on the east, is the inscription *Omnia Vanitas* in very rude characters. There is no list of pensions granted at the dissolution; and no registry of the Priory is known to exist. A short list of testamentary bequests has been compiled * from the *Testamenta Eboracensia.*

1376.	Marm le Constable, Knight of Flaynburgh, to Isabella de Lumley, nun of Rosedale, 13s. 4d.
1388.	Walter Chittenham, vicar of the chapel of St. Trinity, Kyngeston-on Hull, to the nuns of Rossedale, 40s.
1390.	Roger de Moreton, citizen and merchant of York, to the nuns of Rosedale, 8lbs. of wax.
1393.	Jon of Croxton of Yhorke, chandeler, two torches of ix. fote to Rosedale Abbey, for all Crysten saules.
1401.	Lady Isabella Faconbergh of Cleveland, widow of Sir Walter Faconbergh, Knight, to the nuns of Rosedale, 20s.
1454.	Robert Constable, Squyer, dated at Barnby *juxta* Bossall, to ye pure nonnes of Rosshedale 6s. 8d.

Ironstone, a mineral worked from the very earliest times, was most probably worked by the nuns, who had a forge (*forgia*) on their

* By Dr. F. R. Fairbank, of Doncaster.

premises, though the mines are said to have been granted to the monks of Byland. Eustace de Stuteville, in giving his lands, excepted his forge, which must have proved a source of annoyance or perhaps chagrin to the nuns, for he subsequently conceded his interest in it, allowing it to be removed from their neighbourhood, and adding in his charter "Ita quod eadem forgia penitus amoveatur, et a nullo hominum unquam reædificatur;" but despite this peremptory prohibition of future re-establishment, there have very extensive works been constructed here by the Rosedale and Ferryhill Iron Company. Rosedale was granted, 9th July, 30th Henry VIII., to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmerland, with the rectory of Torpennowe, the site of the Priory of Keldholm, the manor and lands, &c , in Rosedale, Thorpennowe, Thornton, Pickering, Newton, and Swynnington Regis, to have to him and the heirs of his body to hold *in capite*. The premises are now shared by various proprietors. The inhabitants nominate the curate.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

THE PRIORY OF OUR LADY OF MALTON.

TANNER dates the foundation of Malton Priory about the year 1150. Eustace Fitz John, whom Houeden calls a one-eyed vile traitor, built and endowed it to the honour of the holy Virgin. Fitz John had been in trouble, for he held the castle of Malton against Stephen in 1138. The patronage of the Priory was of great power and wealth. John, father of Eustace, and Serlo de Burgh or De Penbroke, were brothers. The wife of Eustace was the daughter of Ivo de Vesci; they had a son William, at the birth of whom his mother died perhaps after the Cæsarean operation—"cæso ventre matris, natus, est, et matre mortua." He was from the first called William de Vesci on account of the heir-ship he had from his mother. This William married Burga, a sister of William de Stuteville, and took with her in maritage the town of Langeton; they had a son Eustace, who married Agnes, daughter of William King of Scots; they had a son William, who married Agnes, daughter of Earl de Ferrers; they had a son William, "who now is." And be it known that Serlo first constructed the castle of Knaresborough. Serlo being dead, Knaresborough descended by hereditary succession to Eustace Fitz John as to the nephew and first heir. Eustace held the said manor for his life; he was slain in action in Wales in 1157, being succeeded by William, his son and heir, who held the manor a short time, but, through a certain indignation which our lord the King conceived against him, the manor was taken away from him and given to William de Stuteville.

On the 4th Ides January, 1288, died that nobleman, Lord John de Vesci.
On the 5th Ides of May, 1295, died the Lady Agnes de Vesci, his mother.
On the 5th Kal. August, 1295, died William de Vesci, his father.
On the 8th Kal. May, 1297, died Lord John de Vesci, junr.
On the Kal. August, 1307, died Dom Gilbert de Aton, advocate of Malton.

According to an Impeximus 2nd June, 9th Edward II., by Alexander de Cave, John de Hotham, &c., we find that Giles de Aton is the nearest heir of William de Vesci, senr. After the death of the said William, senr., because he died without heir of himself, the entry upon the tenements which belonged to the said William, belonged to a certain Warin de Vesci, as kinsman and heir of the brother of Eustace, grandfather (*avus*) of the said William de Vesci, senr., on the part of the father; from which Warin descended the right of those tenements to a certain Marjery, as his daughter and heir; and from this William to a certain Gilbert, who died without heir; the right of the tenements then descended to a certain William de Aton, a brother and heir. And from this William it descended to Gilbert de Aton, as son and heir; and they say that the said Gilbert de Aton is of full age.

In the foundation charter it is stated that Eustace Fitz John, desiring to provide for the health of his soul, his children, and parents, gives to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and to the canons of Sempringham, a place suitable for religion—locum religioni aptum—the church of Malton, with all its appurtenances, as well in chapels, lands, as in other things. He gave them also a carucate of land in the same town, with his town residence—cum mansura demenii mei—and the grove there; and the church of St. Peter of Winteringham. The gift was clearly made at York, and we may suppose at some gathering for the purpose of religious development. The witnesses were Henry Archbishop of York, Robert of the Hospital (of St. Leonard's), Adam, Abbot of Melsa, Walter and Richard Chaplains, Warin, the clerk, William Latimer, William son of Guer(in), William son of Walo, John the Dapifer, Robert Frazer, Albert Brian, Ælard, Roger son of William Cunester, and Lady Agnes the wife of Eustace. In his charter giving lands in Bramton, Eustace mentions Galfrid and Richard his sons. It is witnessed by Warin the Chaplain, Richard the Chaplain, Adam Abbot of Melsa, Robert of the Temple, &c.

William de Vesci, son of the said Eustace, gave the churches of Malton and Anacaster, and the mill of Old Malton, and a piscary in the Derwent "throughout my whole domain," and all the meadow on the east part of the apple orchard of Roger de Lascels in the same town. Burga, wife of the said William, gave "as much as is the right of a free woman," the church of Langatun, "which is of my maritage," for the health of my lord William de Vesci and of Eustace our son.

Ivetta de Arches, wife of Roger de Flameville, gave the church of Norton. Hugh, son of Roger de Flameville, confirmed the gift of his father of the church of Marton in Burgeshire, before he had given his sister Matilda in marriage to Robert de Hastings. Among the Amerciaments of H. de Neville in 1202, we find one to the Prior and canons of Mealton, £8 in the quittance they had of eight score acres by charter and the King's writ. In 1254, the King assigned as dowry in the broad lands (*extensis terris*) of William de Vesci, to Agnes wife of William, the manors of Meauton and Langeton, co. Ebor, with their

appurtenances, and the manor of Tuggehale, co. Northants, saving to Peter de Savoy, who had the custody of all these lands during the minority of the heir, the grant of £7 12s., paid yearly by the bailiffs of the said Agnes, from the manor of Langeton. In 1208, this Henry de Neville gave £100 and a palfrey for having seizin of three Knights' fees, with their appurtenances, in Raskell and in Sutton, which belonged to Emma de Humez, his mother. In or about 1205, Walter Bardulf, ancestor of Hugh Bardulf, having just presented, then gave the church of Berningham to the Prior aud Canons of Meauton.

In 1352, the Prior and Convent gave 20 marks for license of appropriating the church of Brumpton in Pykering-lyth. It is noteworthy that in the early days of the Convent the head of the establishment was called Propositus, the Provost.

William of Newburgh, relates a circumstance occurring in August, 1197, which gives us some clue to the building operations. It was a singular and fatal accident from an accumulation of carbonic acid gas. A kiln, prepared for burning lime, was in the usual fashion extinguished at the close of the day. The Provost and several of the brethren had gone to witness and assist in the operation. About the kiln a moderately deep hole was made, about six or seven feet deep. Into this one of the brethren, deceived by the darkness, stepped while busily prosecuting the work. When at length he did not arise, the Provost asked if he was injured, and was answered, "I have perished," as the man died. Those who were present wondered at his further silence, for they could not believe in his death, and sight of him was obscured by the darkness. One of the bystanders was then asked to descend and bring word how matters stood. Having descended, he had scarcely stooped down when he silently died. Not coming back nor bringing any word, another descended, and he in the same way was destroyed. Then stupor fell upon those yet standing about; knowing themselves to be insecure they asked a third to descend and explore cautiously; who, it is said, fortifying himself with the sign of health, the cross, began to descend into the fatal pit, but immediately exclaimed, "I am dying, I am dying, pull me up!" Those nearest about snatched at the top of the little ladder, and extricated him, still clinging to the ladder. His tunic was burned and it appeared as if wilfully torn to pieces by violent hands; foam was gushing from his mouth, and he languished for many days. At the sight of his tunic he trembled as at a pestilence, nor would he suffer it to be put on when repaired. On the morrow, after the death of the brother and two youths who had followed him, one cautiously descended to draw up their bodies; he felt nothing of either horror or evil there, but harmlessly and with every confidence drew the bodies from the place of death. No wound appeared on the dead, beyond that their left eyes appeared blood-shot, and bruised as if by a recent blow. This singular story shows the monks were engaged in building operations at the date of it. The Rev. Mackenzie C. Walcot, M.A., contributed to the *Building*

News an interesting description of Malton Priory church, which is here represented:—

The church of St. Mary's, Old Malton, is only a fragment of what was once a noble minster, with three towers, founded for the Gilbertine canons in 1150, by Eustace St. John. In it was buried Gilbert, founder of the order of Sempringham, who died in 1189. He designed that the monastery should contain thirty-five men. In its integrity the priory church possessed a transept with eastern chapels, a choir with aisles, and a short square-ended presbytery; and it is possible now to trace a faint outline among the huge mounds which cover the meadow which slopes to the banks of the Derwent. Now it has lost its western triplet, its north-west tower, the aisles and clerestory of the nave, and the entire east end, including two bays of the body of the church. The bases of the enormous western pillars of the crossing remain, with the shafts at the east end of the south nave aisle, which retains only a cinquefoiled pillar stoup, adjoining a round-headed procession door. Another doorway of richer character, with the beak-head and chevron ornaments, has been rebuilt on the north side. Barbarous usage exceeded its ordinary malice here, both sides of the building being coated with modern masonry, which on the north side quite conceals every ancient feature, and on the south permits less than half the original pillars, which are of Transitional Norman date, with moulded capitals, and the outer mouldings of the arches, to be seen, together with a single jamb of a clerestory window, and the large circular outer arches of the triforium. A weather moulding on the side of the tower is proof that the aisle roof also enclosed the triforium. An outer doorway in the tower shows that the conventual buildings were carried clear of it—that is eastward. The interior of the buildings of this rare order, however, is full of interest even in its degradation. The nave retains only six out of eight original bays; on the second north pillar from the east there is a square canopied niche for an image. The fourth pillar is cased with canopied niches in two tiers; part of the cornice has been reversed, but these parts of an inscription remain—"ROGERUS PRI (OR ?) ORATE PRO BON...FRATRI...CARI," with the rebus, a tree piercing a tun and a bolt through a woolpack. This is of perpendicular date, like the arcading in the three western bays which supersedes the triforium. The pillars are octagonal. On the south they are round. The triforium on this side resembles that in the three eastern bays upon the north, consisting of two open arches under a comprising arch, with a quatrefoil in the head, and flanked by a more pointed arch on either side. The westernmost pillars, like the fifth on the north, are shafted, clearly being under reconstruction in the Perpendicular period, when the example of Bridlington probably stimulated an unfortunate rivalry.

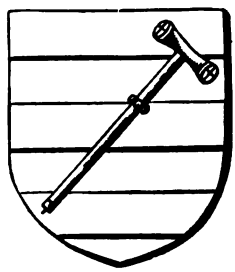
The lower story of the tower (like the entire west end, of the latter part of the twelfth century) is vaulted. The upper stage exhibits two tall pointed open windows, with a quatrefoil in a circle above each head. The lower window has been a very remarkable ornament in the jambs,

profusely used. It is like a ball-flower in bud, of conical shape, ending in a sharp point, with six lateral flutings. The grand western portal of six orders (filled with commonplace new doors) has in its mouldings the violet. a four-leaved flower, and a diamond fretty pattern, like an ornament at Lincoln Cathedral. The shafts here and in the windows are banded at mid-height. The jambs of the great western window are studded with the violet. The round-headed insertions, with the meanest attempt at tracery, is to the last degree execrable. It is only rivalled by the preposterous and contemporaneous arrangement of mock stalls along the east wall. The central space was covered up, as the painters were at work. This paltry woodwork, fortunately, has been the means of preserving the misricords—good, honest, bold sculptures of great vigour, but late in execution. No. 1 denotes their several subjects; No. 2 marks the pattern of the elbow rest. They range from north to south, and face the congregation with an effect eminently incongruous and grotesque. Restoration is urgently needed in every respect, both in the fabric and furniture. The misricords represent—

I. An ass, with long, flowing head-gear; 2, a goose.
II. A lion; 2, a fox crouching.
III. A winged dragon; 2, a unicorn.
IV. An owl; 2, a hare.
V. An eagle; 2, a beast with a scaly neck.
VI. A rabbit; 2, a snake.
VII. A camel bridled; 2, a beast with a snake's tail.
VIII. A crab; 2, a cockatrice; a bird's head.

The tower, with fissures, subsiding arches, and a very perceptible settlement on the east side, appears in a delicate condition, and the augury, from past treatment of the building, is a sad one. The changes in it were evidently made by a sordid pulling down of faulty portions piecemeal, bit by bit, till the present miserable residue only was left, to the disgrace of the parish. The cloisters were on the south side, and the substructure still existing under a modern house was probably the cellarage, upon which the refectory was built. Buck's view shows the round-headed clerestory of the nave, the south wall of the aisle with a processional door at the east end, a part of the substructure of the rooms of the lay brothers, with an external arcade, and on the east side of the garth a small door; a fine portal to the stype, with the lozenge or diamonded ornament, and the grand entrance to the chapter-house of four orders, flanked with a window on each side. We have a few glimpses of the internal features of the church. Henry Eure, Esq., who died in 1476, wills "my body to be buried in the monastery of Our Lady in Olde Malton, before the medys of the alter of Seynt John the Baptist, where the prest usith to saye *Confiteor*." In 1346, Walter Percehay, lord of , bequeathed his body to be buried in the church, his wife Agnes Percehay being buried near to him in 1348, and her executors were to provide six priests for one year to celebrate for the good of the souls of herself and husband. In 1350, Sir Gilbert Aton left £40, and appointed as his executors Dan Richard de Watton, Prior

of Watton, and Dan John de Wynteringham, Prior of Malton. In 1391, Agnes de Lokton, widow, leaves her body to be buried in the church of the convent of Old Malton, near my forelders (She was a Percehay). In 1450, Dame Constance Bigod, of Setterington, leaves to the fabric of the Blessed Mary "in Charnell de Malton" one zone worked with silver gilt.



The arms of the Priory were—Argent, three bars gules, over all a pilgrim's crutch in bend sinister of the first. Those were the arms of the Founder differenced by the crutch. From the register in the Cottonian Library, Claud. D. XI., British Museum, we only glean a fewfacts. 1. That Roger was Prior in the time of Pope Alexander III. 2. The date of the foundations. 3. That there was a rood in the great church, *i.e.*, in the nave, with a light before it. 4. That there was a hermaphrodite convent, consisting of *fratres* and *sorores* in different buildings. In 1298, we learn that William was Prior. The senseless violence of vulgar greed or polemical destruction has deprived us of a curious insight into the arrangement of one of the finest houses of the order of Sempringham, the only one of distinctively English foundation. The list of chantries in the Public Record Office notices only those of St. Leonard's and St. Michael's, New Malton, and St. James in the Castle. The revenues of this Priory, as returned in the *Valor*, 26th, Henry VIII., amounted to £257 7s. 0d.; the clear income to £197 19s. 2d. The site was granted, 32 Henry VIII., to Robert Holgate, Bishop of Llandaff.

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY.

THE Priory of Guisborough or Gisburn is situated in the north of Cleveland, where a portion of it still remains to witness the magnificence it exhibited in the days of its prosperity—a fitting memorial of a house which had eventually to ascend the throne of Scotland, to shiver the power of England, and leave a name as imperishable as the annals of the human race. Guisborough is a secluded town, out of the usual route of tourists and scarcely in the range of active commerce, though it is now becoming well known to visitors to Saltburn and Redcar, being rendered accessible from Whitby by the completion of the coast railway.

Of this Priory there remains the Norman gateway of the church, set among walnut trees and primeval yews; and the east end 98 feet high and 100 feet broad, with a window 60 feet by 24 feet, supported by four massive buttresses having octagonal crocketted turrets. The east end is Decorated, of the early part of the fourteenth century; it contains a blank window stripped of tracery; a steep gable with a five-light window; on either side there is a three-light aisle window with geometrical tracery in the head, deeply recessed and flanked by turrets. We cannot tell who were the builders of this glorious old church,

situate at the bottom of a rich and fertile vale surrounded by picturesque hills. The church has been found, by recent excavations, to have been 367 feet long by 77 feet wide. Some parts of the foundations of the west end have been uncovered. The site of the rood-loft was found deeply indented in the ground, as if by the fall of the central tower. Southward at a distance of 146 feet from the church is part of the cellarage of the refectory, 40 feet by 10 feet in two spaces, with quadripartite vaulting. To the north west is the lower storey of the gatehouse, with a low round-headed arch, and the arches of the postern and entrance to the abbey court.

The Common Seal of the Priory has the legend ✠SIGILLVM SANCTE . MARIE . DE GISEBVRE; the devise being the Virgin seated, before her a reading desk, above which is a star of eight points.

Ord in his *History of Cleveland* says, "The gate is 24 feet wide, strongly built, the outer arch semicircular, the inner eliptical, with a small gate at the side to admit persons singly. During late years this noble monument of antiquity has been much dispoiled, and presents a far less imposing and august spectacle than what we have seen in drawings a century or two old. A very strong iron lock which, it is supposed, belonged to this gate, is in the possession of the Chaloner family, it is 15 inches long and from 8 to 11 inches broad, having two keys, three central and two lateral bolts. The mechanism is remarkably ingenious, the key turning round in a sort of box, the caverns of which, arranged in six rows, are formed to suit the indented teeth. A very dignified part of the Monastery remains to be noticed, viz., the Prior's lodgings, a little removed from the quadrangle and Priory church, but so placed as to afford an easy communication with the cloisters, offices, and church. The upper compartment of the great window is adorned with mullions richly branched, similar to the remains of the smaller windows. The window fastenings are shewn by indentations in the stonework, in which may be seen portions of lead and iron. Rude heads, well-carved dolphins, and other devices, are scattered about the building; and in several parts may be observed the arms of the founder De Brus, *arg., a lion rampant, azure.*"

The ruins are peculiar for their elegance of form, and although so scanty, are alone sufficient to attest that a choir of almost unrivalled beauty once stood in the bottom of that vale. The choir, representing the magnificent fragment already described, was evidently of the four-

teenth century, and of a style and proportion which might have borne comparison with the most splendid works of that age of ecclesiastical magnificence. The guest house is probably represented by a wall, with late perpendicular windows fronting the market cross in the town. There is also preserved a portion of the end of the tomb of the founder, erected long after his time, exhibiting the Blessed Virgin Mary seated, holding the shield of Brus in her lap. This portion of the tomb has been recovered from Hardwicke, whither it had been removed. The two sides of the tomb are preserved in the porch of the adjoining parish church. Among the ruins of the Priory, under the green sward, shaded by two rows of walnut trees, or beneath the summer-flowers, myrtles, and hollies of the hall-gardens, lie the bones of many eminent and illustrious men, the founders and benefactors of the monastery, whose stone coffins have proved more durable than even the stately building over which the benefactors lavished their treasures, and under whose sacred shade they fondly hoped to abide in peace till "the resurrection of the quick and the dead." *Ord.* p. 197.

The Priory was founded for canons of the order of St. Austin, by Robert de Brus, lord of Skelton, by the counsel of Pope Calixtus II., and of the Archbishop of York, as is set forth in the foundation charter. It is the commonly received opinion, supported by Walter Hemingburgh the historian, who some two centuries later was a canon and eventually Sub-Prior of the house, that the foundation was in 1129, but there is doubt as to the accuracy of this date, which should perhaps be 1119, for Pope Calixtus died in 1124, Pope Honorius his successor being enthroned on the 21st December of that year. Robert Brus, lord of Skelton and Annandale, died on Sunday, 11th May, 1141.

On the 16th May, 1289, the church was burnt down. Hemingburgh tells the story. He says, Our church of Giseburn was burnt 17th Kal. June, 1289, the first day of the Rogations, with many most precious theological books, nine chalices, vestments, and costly images, the devouring flame consumed. And as past events give the form of coming things, wherefore, I have thought it desirable to give details of the catastrophe, that accidents of a similar nature may be avoided through our calamity. On the aforesaid day, which was windy, a plumber, with his two labourers, ascended the church to mend some holes in the old lead, as he had commenced some days before. With bad arrangement, to melt his solder he placed his iron pots with charcoal and fire upon rubbish on the steps of the top-work, upon dry wood, some beams and other combustible things, and from the centre part in the cross of the body of the church. He remained there after mass at his work, but at length descended before the procession of the Convent, believing his labourers had extinguished the fire. They quickly descended after him. The fire not being fully extinguished, it flamed up in the charcoal, and partly from the heat of the iron or by the scattering of the charcoal, the fire seized the lower wood and other combustible things, and being thus commenced, the lead melted and the rafters upon the beams ignited. The fire grew immensely and consumed everything. Such was the

damage and conduct of the fugitives in the endeavour to save things, we could only adopt the vulgar expression "owt at we can!" Whence our successors may learn from our negligence the more cautiously to provide for themselves.* The church was shortly afterwards rebuilt; it is the front of this second fabric which still remains as already stated. Some relics of the front building, beautiful carvings, are preserved in a heap in the adjoining garden.

After the fire the King appears to have granted to the Prior and Convent, upon their petition, the churches of Essington, Bermingham, and Herleston, of which they had the advowsons; the appropriation does not, however, seem to have taken effect. King Henry IV. granted the canons the privileges of frank pledge, wayf, strays, return of writs, &c. Bermingham had been given to Malton.

The foundation charter is given by Dugdale. It is addressed by the founder, Robert de Brus, to the King, the Archbishop of York, and to all the sons of Holy Mother Church. It sets forth that by the advice of Pope Calistus II. and Turstin, Archbishop of York, Robert de Brus has founded a monastery of canonical religion at Gyseburn.

He also gave to the same his mill in Gyseburn, so that no one could erect a mill in the parish without the consent of the canons. He also gave the service of the land of the son of Gaufrid and of Uctred of Cleveland, which was due to himself; also the whole of Lyum, and part of Cotum, the tithe of his lordship of Lyum; and the churches of Mersk, Brunnum, Schelton, Daneby, Uplyum, Stainton, Levinton, Herte, and Stranton. He also gave building materials in Escadale in perpetuity, and all other necessaries of their house. Above all, the charter goes on to say, "We, Robert de Brus and Agnes my wife, and Adam our son and heir, have given to the church of St. Mary of Gyseburn, and to the brethren who shall there serve God, in free and perpetual charity, with all the liberties, free customs and dignities which we have in them of the gift and concession of Henry, King of England. And we confirm the gifts of our men to the church, viz., the church of Ormesby and the mill of Caldecotes, with the land adjoining, of the gift of Ernald de Percy—half of the church of Marton of the gift of Robert Sturmy—the church Actune of the gift of Alured—one carucate of the land of Arusum of the gift of William Engeiram—three bovates in Lofthus of the gift of Theobald, and one bovate in Clinton of the gift of Roger de Rosel."

Another early donor was Ralph de Clera, who, with the consent of Mabel his wife, and for the good of the souls of themselves and their children, gave the site of the monastery, near to the chapel of St. Michael towards the south by those boundaries which seven of the canons (*septa*

*In recording the vulgar expression one MS. reads "quid potui oygh;" another, "quid potuimus eygh;" either of which seems plainly enough to indicate that the *vulgar* expression was one not only then existing, but frequently used at the present day, and meaning "anything we can get hold of."

canonicorum concessa) pointed out to us. Witnesses, Roger and Adam, chaplains; Adam, clerk of Watton; William, chaplain of Sivelnigt; William Bainard, Hugh de Cornburch, Hugh Buche of Giseburn, William de Sceltun. It is noticeable that although the parish church of Guisborough was included in the grant of the whole of Guisborough to the Priory, the monastery was not engrafted on the church, as was usually the case, but was built alongside of it and quite separate. Possibly to begin with the parish church was used by the canons. If so, they appear at an early period to have found this arrangement inconvenient. Be that as it may, shortly after the foundation, the land adjoining the church, which does not appear to have been included in the original grant, was given to them by Ralph de Clera as above, and then they appear from remains now existing to have lost no time in building their more complete house. In 1230, a composition was made with respect to the parochial tithes. In 1275, a vicarage was ordained, and in 1338, a new ordination was made. Henry VIII. granted the church to the see of York in exchange.

In Robert Bruce, its founder, Gisburn had as a patron one of the most illustrious of the Norman barons of England. He is said to have come over with the Conqueror, and therefore, at the time of his death in 1141, must have been a very old man. He was buried in the monastery. To him succeeded his son Adam de Brus, who is named in the charter. He died in 1167, and is also buried in the monastery. It is said he was succeeded by his son, Adam, the second, who died in 1180, and is buried at Gisburn. But we now come to authentic records, and the descents are not so easily reconciled. In 1201, Isabel Brus renders an account of £45 14s., that she should not be asked to marry; and in the same year William de Brus owes ten marks of the fee which belonged to Robert de Brus. In the same year Peter de Brus pays £116 13s. 4d. fine for the lands of his father, and he also rendered account of £1000 for having the town and forest of Danebi, with all its appurtenances, which the King gave back to him and his heirs to hold by Knights' service of the fee in the said towns, because Peter returns and quit-claims to the King and his heirs for ever the towns of Berdeseia, Colingham, and Ringeton, with the advowsons of their churches. Peter freed to the King the said towns and all the appurtenances which he or his father had therein. Henry II. had formerly given these towns to Adam de Brus, father of Peter, in exchange for the town and forest of Danebi. In 1204, he gave 200 marks and 2 palfreys for having seizin of his manors of Carleton and Camleford (near Selby), of which he was disseized by judgment of the court. In 1222, Peter de Brus, son and heir of Peter, made a fine to the King of £100 for the relief of the barony which belonged to Peter, the father, and was held in capite; and 40 marks for having the Wapentake of Langeburg of his hereditary right. In 1240, another Peter, son and heir of Peter, who had died on a journey to the Holy Land, made a fine of 200 marks for the relief of the lands his father held in capite. In 1248, the King gave

respite to Peter de Brus, one of the heirs of William de Lancaster, of all the debts which the said William owed. On the 27th September, 1272, John de Reygate, the Escheator, was ordered to take into the King's hands all the lands of which Peter died seized. (*Rot. Fin.*, ii., p. 585). His sisters were his coheirs; Agnes married to Walter de Faucombridge, Margaret to Robert de Ros, Lucy to Marmaduke de Twenge, and Laderina to John de Bellaqua, of Carleton. The annals of England, not less than those of Scotland, in re-counting the deeds of the men of these names, tell how the spirit of the Brus was a factor in our story, at least until the time when the bruised and scattered leaves of the Roses of York and Lancaster withered on the grave of chivalry. Peter de Brus who succeeded his father Adam, and died in 1211, or as above in 1222, was buried in the Priory. His son Peter the second, who is said to have died in 1267, though he died on a journey to the Holy Land in 1240, succeeded him, and was succeeded by his son Peter. He married the lady Hillaria de Maulay, 1236, died without issue in 1272, and with her was buried in the Priory.* Robert de Brus the fourth, lord of Annandale, who died at Lochmaben, Thursday, 21st March, 1295, was buried in the Priory, perhaps in the chapter-house—in domo nostra Gisseburne—near his father, according to his commands when alive. This interment, which was conducted with great honour, took place on the second Sunday after Easter, 17th April, "cum summo honore ut decuit, et reverentia magna," as we learn from Hemingburgh, who was probably present. The name of Brus was now locally extinct; Peter's successors and heiresses were his four sisters, of whom the eldest Agnes was married to Sir Walter Fauconberg, lord of Rise in Holderness. She died in the lifetime of her husband in 1304, and was buried in the nunnery of Kylyng, in Holderness, founded by his ancestors.

After this period there has been at Gisburn the usual era of debt. In 1302, Archbishop Corbridge had his eye upon the monastery. He writes to the brethren to know how they are behaving themselves, and in reply they send him five of their monks, Walter de Hemingburgh, their sub-Prior and historian, Robert de Furmery, and Robert de Daneby, with a letter to tell him that they are now orderly, observant of religious discipline, and in thankfulness to God, at peace with themselves—things which they cannot have had previous to this interference. As to their temporalities, between the feast of Pentecost in the years 1301 and 1302 they had paid off £225 18s. 5d. of their debt—which was undoubtedly a wonderful and worthy effort, "Benedicto Deo Altissimo!" as they exclaim. Things temporal must indeed have mended with them, for in 1319, after Melton had suffered his terrible overthrow at Myton, where he lost all his plate and some of his dignity, he asks them for help in his great need. There is some evidence of a

* 1236. A marriage between Peter, son and heir of Peter de Brus, and Hillary, eldest daughter of Peter de Maulay; and also a marriage between Peter, son and heir of Peter de Maulay, and Joan, the eldest daughter of the aforesaid Peter de Brus. *Cal. Rot. Pat.* 18.

disposition to acquire their neighbours' lands, for in 1363, John de Toucotes has to recover by law seizin against John, Prior of "Giseburn in Cleveland," and Richard de Wylton, of his common of pasture in Giseburn, which belonged to his free tenement in Toucotes.

On the 13th Kal. March (17th Feb.), Sir John de Bulmer "Miles strenuus, vicinus peroptimus"—a hardy knight and the very best neighbour—died, and was buried at Gysborne before the altar of St. John Baptist. 13th Dec., 1311, an indulgence of forty days granted by Bishop Kelleawe of Durham, for the souls of Sir Walter Faucomberge and Dame Agnes (de Brus) his wife. *Fasti Ebor* i., p. 335a. To him succeeded Walter the second, his son and heir, who married Lady Isabell, daughter of Sir Robert de Ros, of Hamlake. In 1372, a license was issued by Archbishop Thoresby, to Isabella de Faucomberg, widow of Walter de F. Kt., to remove his body from before the image of the Holy Cross in the church of Gisburgh, to that part of the church in which his ancestors are interred. *Fasti Ebor* i., p. 464.

In addition to the above named burials in the church of the monastery of Gisborough, the following also took place or were ordered, viz.*

William de Kylton, Osbert de Kylton,† Hawise de Upsal, Robert de Tunstal, Robert de Tolebi, Alan, son of Thomas de Giseburn, Agnes, wife of Henry Fitz Ralph.—*Young's Whitby*, 419.

1346. Lucia, wife of Sir Bart. de Fanacourt, who fought at Neville's Cross.
1356. John, second Lord Darcy.
1381. Lord William de Latymer, between two pillars on the north side, before the high altar of Our Lady.
1391. Sir Roger Fauconberg, Kt., before the altar of St. Crux.
1399. Sir Philip Darcy, Kt., next to his father, John, second Lord Darcy.
1402. Constancia, lady of Skelton, in the choir, before the stall of the Prior
1411. John, Lord Darcy and Menyll (or at Selby).
1451. Dame Heleyn Gilson, of Gisburn, widow of William Gilson.

The following testamentary notices of Guisborough Priory occur :—

1346. Lucy, wife of Sir Bart. de Fanacourt (see above). To be buried in the conventual church of the Blessed Mary of Gisburgh.—*Test. Ebor.* i., p. 33.
1375. Sir Henry de Ingelby, canon of York. To . . . *among others*, . . . the prior and convent of Gisburne, 20 marks, to pray, &c.—*Ib.*, p. 94.
1381. Sir William de Latymer. My body to be buried in the church of the Priory of Gisburn in Cleveland, before the high altar of Our Lady, between two pillars, as at another time devised. And if I die before my return, that my body be carried and interred there, and that the tomb of alabaster which is in the said church, "*voit surneys*," as I have otherwise devised. Also, I devise to my dependents an entire vestment of red velvet, embroidered with my shield of arms (armes entier); that is, a chasuble, with three albs, and parurs, two tunicles, and one cope with the amices and other appurtenances, and other my best chalice and two cruets, with a bell of silver engraved; also I devise to the convent of Gisburn two pounds sterling to celebrate my obit; also to the same 20 marks to buy a missal "de lour eops," for the said vestments covered with velvet embroidered with my arms; also I will that my exors. finish and complete the said

* I am indebted to Dr. F. R. Fairbank, of Doncaster for these details.

† Kylton was a small Castle overhanging a deep valley of considerable beauty near Skelton. The remains of it are interesting, and worth a visit. Skelton and Kylton occupied a position somewhat similar to that of the "Cat and Mouse" on the Rhine. The Thwengs, of whom one was Prior of Gisburn, were the lords of Kylton, and a family of standing and evil notoriety.

tomb of alabaster according to their discretion; also that my exors. finish the vaulting of the aisles of the said church on the north side, which I have commenced; also I devise to the said convent all the beasts and cattle which I have in my manor of Ugthorp; also I devise to the prior of the said convent in perpetuity the large hanaper of silver engraved, called S. George; and the mazers and large almsdish of silver which I have in my gardrobe in London, to remain in the fratry (froytoure), for the perpetual use of the said prior and convent, . . and that the said prior have 500 marks sterling to make their bell, . . . dated at Preston in Kent—*Ibid*, p. 113-116.

1388. Walter Chiltenham, vicar of the chapel of S. Trinity, at Kingston-on-Hull . . . residue. . . . except certain "parcellis" belonging to the prior and convent of Giseburne.—*Ibid*, p. 128.

1391. Sir Roger Faucounberge, Knt. To be buried in the conventual church of Gysburn, before the altar of S. Cross. For mortuary, his best horse, with the arms belonging to his body; 5 tapers of 4 lb. of wax each. Exors. . . . John Horworth. prior of Gisburn, and John Staynton, his canon. Witnesses, Sir Roger del Hill, parish chaplain of Gysburn, and others. Dated at Gysburn.—*Ibid*, p. 147.

1391. John Stayngreve, vicar of Hesyll. Exor., John de Horworth, prior of Gysburn.*—*Ibid*, p. 163.

1399. Sir Philip Darcy, Knt. To be buried in the priory of Gysburn, next the tomb of my father (*i. e.*, John, second Lord Darcy, who died 1356.)—*Ibid*, p. 254.

1400. Lady Johanna, late wife of Sir Donald de Hesilrigg. To the convent of the house of Gysburgh, in Cleveland, one vestment of "camaca" to serve in the pulpit† there, and one chalice of silver gilt. Also, I leave to the honour of Blessed Mary, Virgin, for the use of the refectory of the same house, all my vessels of silver being there at present in charge.—*Ibid*, 265-6.

1402. Sir Thomas de Boynton, Knt. Exors. to compound with the Prior of Gisburn for his armour.—*Test. Ebor.*, i., p. 287.

1402. Constantia, lady of Skelton.‡ (First wife of Sir Thos. Fauconberge, owner of Skelton.) To be buried in the choir of the canons of Gisburne, before the stall of the prior. To the same abbey (*sic*), for honest and great hospitality to strangers, one red bed, "per magnum artihcium desuper contextum," wishing to return to the same abbey (*sic*) for my mortuary what, according to the custom of the country, should be offered by foundresses.—*Ibid.*, p. 292.

1410. Mr. Thomas Walkyngton, rector of Houghton-le-Spring. To Robert de Burton, canon regular of Gysburn, my relative (*consang*), £10, to celebrate for my soul, with my "armilansa" furred with bever.—*Durham Wills and Inventories, Sur Soc.*, i., p. 50.

1411. John, Lord Darcy and de Menyll. To be buried in the church of the priory of canons of Gysburn, or in the church of the Abbey of Selby, according to the discretion of the supervisor and exors. of his will.—*Test Ebor.*, i., 357.

1429.—Roger Thornton, of Newcastle, "yelder," bailiff, mayor, and M.P. . . . also I forgif to ye hous of Gysburn xxx*l*, whilk yei awe me beside ye c*l* yat I haue g'yuen yaim afore yistyme, so yat yey fynde me a prest p'petuall syngyng for me in yeir hous like as yeir couenant is maid.—*Durham Wills and Inventories, Sur. Soc.*

* The prior and convent of Gysburn presented to the church of Hesel.

† The "pulpit" was the loft over the screen across the west end of the choir. This is evidently an instance of an altar in the somewhat unusual situation of a loft. Other instances occur, as at York Minster there was an altar in the loft before the image of S. Saviour. on the south side of the church. for two chaplains, founded in 1475-6 by Richard Andrew, Dean of York.—*York Fabric Rolls, Sur. Soc.*, p. 300-1.

An inventory is given in the same place, of the date 1543, of the belongings of the "altar of the name of Jhesu in the rudde loft." In the church of Ross, Hereford, there is a piscina 15 feet from the floor, 3 feet above the capital of the chancel arch.

‡ Lady Constantia, as wife of Sir Thos. Fauconberge. was "foundress" of Gisburn by inheritance, through Agnes de Brus, who married her ancestor, Sir Walter F., as above stated.

1430. John Neville, lord of Latymer. My Bible to the priory and convent of Gisburn.—*Test. Ebor.*, ii., p. 7.

1451. Dame Heleyn Gilson, of Gysburn in Cliveland, late wife of William Gilson.* My bodie to be beried in the conventuale kirke of Gysburn, vndre the marbil stone ordeinede and arraised for my husband and me. Also I will unto my cors presant my stepe bede. Also to the lightes in the parishe kirke, iii*s.* iiii*d.*—*Ibid.*, p. 149.

1461. Sir John Hedlam, Knt., of Nunthorp. Supervisor of will, Richard Dernton, priour of Gisburn.—*Ibid.*, ii., p. 247.

1472. Mr. William Ecopp, rector of the church of Heslarton.† To be buried in the choir of the church aforesaid before the high altar where holy water on the Lord's days, according to custom, is blessed. A pilgrim to visit, among other holy places, S. Mary of Gysburgh.—*Ibid.*, iii., 199-201.

1480. William Lambert, vicar of Gainford, and master of Staindrop College. I leave to the prior and convent of Gisburn, for exequies and mass to be celebrated for my soul, &c., 40s.—*Ibid.*, 254.

1483. Christopher Conyers, chaplain and rector of Rudby. To the prior of Gisburn, one "par precularum de gete factum et sessum cum pera." To the Blessed Mary of Gisburn, my second best gilt girdle.—*Ibid.*, 289.

1495. William Conyers, of Thormondby, arm. To the prior and convent of Gysburn, 20s.—*Ibid.*, iv., 110.

1508. Elizabeth Wilson of Gisboro, about to make a pilgrimage to S. Thomas of Canterbury, bishop and martyr, made her will. If I die in my house at Guysburn, to be buried in the church of S. Nicholas of Guysburn, before the image of S. Trinity. To the lord prior of the monastery of Blessed Mary of Guysborne and convent, one "cisternam," on condition that they make William Porrett, formerly my husband, and me, to be placed in their martyrology *(in martilogio suo)*, and pray for us. To the refectory of the said monastery, i. murrum.‡ To the lord prior, i. horse and foal, and one towel of diaper.—*Ibid.*, p. 276.

1526. William Tocotes, of Gisburn.

1559. Roger Tocotes, of Tocotes.

Among the altars in the church of the Priory were the following dedications:—The Great or St. Mary's, St. Thomas, St. Katharine, St. Crux, and St. John Baptist.

Offenders were sent from Hexham Priory to Guisborough for discipline.

In 1311 an indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Durham for the church of St. Mary of Giseburgh, which, with the books, vestments, and chalices, had been almost reduced to ashes.—*Reg. Kellawe, Durham.* This can only have reference to the conflagration of 1289, and it leads us to believe there was a period of twenty years before the re-erection could be commenced.

At the trial and dispersion of the Knights Templars in 1311, Hughenden was sent to Guisborough; and in 1319, the Pope made an order that any Templar might, if he wished, take the vows required by the

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*In 1425-6 a commission was issued from York, during the vacancy of the see, to the prior of Gisburgh, to veil Ellen, widow of William Gilleson, of Gisburgh.—*Ibid*, iii., p. 325.

†Heslerton was a possession of the priory of Guisborough. It was given by Walter Ingeram, with the churches of Erncliffe and Welleburghe, and confirmed by his son William, between the years 1180-1190.

‡ "Murrum" was a material drinking cups were made of. It was also used for the cup itself.

monastery in which he was residing. On December 18th of the same year, the Archbishop of York issued an order to the Prior and convent of Gisburgh to allow Robert de Langton, once a Templar, to enter their house. Langton had been sent to Bridlington at the dispersion of the order. In 1320, at the dispersion of the canons of Hexham among the other houses of the order, in consequence of the destruction of their monastery by the Scots, Adam de Tyndall, one of the canons, was sent to Guisborough for maintenance, the sum of four marcs being paid per annum for him. This sum, be it remembered, was a charity pittance, granted by an impoverished treasury. A hundred and fifty years later than this five marcs per annum was the regulation stipend of a parish priest, a sum which, taking into consideration the decreasing value of money and the greater social expenses of the priest, is conclusive that the monastic life was one of great material waste, uncompensated by even the shadow of intellectual gain.

On February 6th, in 17th of his reign, King John was at Guisborough, and dated a charter there.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, p. 6.

In 18 Ed. III., a patent was granted by the King that the Prior of Gisburgh might crenellate his house at Gisburghe.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, p. 149b. In 39 Ed. III., a patent was issued enabling the Prior of Giseburne to empark his wood of Clive, and 80 acres of land adjoining the same. —*Ibid.*, 180. In 47 Ed. III., Walter de Thorpe, who, within the manor of Hoton-next-Gisburn, had in fee three loads of trunks of tree, three loads of branches, and thirty horse trussles of heath per year, together with pasture for all his animals everywhere in the woods, and separate pastures within the said manor, relinquished all his right to the Prior of Gisburn, which the King confirmed.—*Ibid.*, p. 186. King Henry IV. granted the canons the privileges of frankpledge, waif, strays, return of writs, &c.

At the great meeting of the order, held at Leicester, to consider the reformation of the order, and its abuses, the Prior of G. presided. At the meeting, which is looked upon as the commencement of "the Reformation," a letter was received from Cardinal Wolsey, proposing to found a college at Oxford for the order, and begging the support of the meeting. They joined with him, and made him "Defender of the Augustine Order," which title he accepted. In the following year Leicester and ten other houses were surrendered to the King, and he handed them over to Wolsey, who with their revenues founded Christ's Church College, Oxford. Wolsey and the Augustine Order divide the honour of the foundation.—*History of Hexham, Sur. Soc.*

James Cockerell, Rector of Lythe, formerly Prior of Guiseborough, took part in the "Pilgrimage of Grace," and paid the penalty at Tyburn along with the Prior of Bridlington, the Abbot of Jervaulx, and the Abbot of Fountains. Robert Pursglove, last Prior of Gisburn, was after the dissolution of his house appointed Suffragan Bishop of Hull. This was in Queen Mary's reign; he resigned in the time of Elizabeth. He was also Archdeacon of Nottingham. At the dissolution of his house

he received a pension of £166 13s. 4d. per annum. In 1561, he founded a School and Hospital of Jesus.

PRIORS OF GISBURN.

WILLIAM DE BRUCE, first Prior, who occurs in 1131, and died in 1155. He was brother of the founder. Graves says he was buried in the chapter-house.

RANNULF occurs in 1147.

T., Prior of Giseburn and Nicholas the Canon, occur in the charter of foundation of Basedale Nunnery by Adam de Brus, between 1147 and 1161.

CUTHBERT. He opposed the election of St. William of York in 1142. *Fast. Ebor.*, 222 His name appears in the dispute with the Abbot of Whitby; also to the grant of Alan Buscel of Hutton Buscel to the Monks of Whitby; to a charter of Henry Archbishop of York in 1152; to a grant of the church of Ingleby to Whitby in 1164; and to a confirmation of Slingsby to Whitby, *Ord.*, 189. He was suspended by Abp. Roger, 1154-81, *Fast. Ebor.*, 247.

1196-1211. ROALD or RADULF. His name appears to a grant in the *Col. Top et. Geneal* iii. p. 172, R., Prior of Gisburne, Henry Fitz-Harvey, Guimer son of Garin, Roger de Arch, Thomas his brother, &c. The same Roald, Prior of Gisburne, granted to Walter, son of Peter, lord of Seaton Carew, a perpetual chantry in the chapel of Seaton Carew. This Walter purchased the privilege with 60 acres of land, 3 tofts and pasture for 100 ewes and lambs, *Ord.*, 190. William, son of Robert, son of Roald de Gisburne, gave land in Gisburne.

LAURENCE, spoken of as "quondam" in 1219. He resigned, and a provision was made for him. His name appears to a charter of Richard Malbisse, with Savaric, Abbot of Rivaulx, who died 1211; also in 1210 to a grant of the churches of Kirkeby and Ingleby, with Ingleby mill, to the monastery of Whitby, along with Hugh de Hoton and Nichol de Ayton; in 1211 to a second charter of a similar description; in 1212 to one of the Crosby Ravensworth grants to Whitby; in 1215 to "a grant of the hermitage of Saltburn upon the banks of Holebec" to Whitby; and in 1215 twice again in the long disputed Crossby Ravensworth affair, when he is styled "Lawrence, formerly Prior of Giseburn," *Ord.* 190.

MICHAEL occurs in 1218 and 1223.

1230. JOHN, he occurs again in 1242.

SIMON.

1261. RALPH DE IRETON. He was of a Cumberland family, and from this Priory was advanced to the Bishopric of Carlisle in Dec., 1278. He died 20th Feb., 1292, being suffocated in his sleep by the bursting of a blood-vessel. *Graves*, 425. He was buried in Carlisle cathedral.

1278. W. He occurs in 1281.

1289. ADAM DE NEWLAND. According to Pope Nicholas's taxation, 1292, the temporalities were then worth £77 11s. 8d., they were reduced in the new taxation to £36. The fire occurred in the year of his installation. Was he a companion of Hemingburgh, brought from Newland on the banks of the Ouse? We have noticed the Brus estates at Carleton and Camblesford, adjoining townships.

1290.	WILLIAM DE MIDDLEBURGH, upon whose cession succeeded
12th Feb., 1320.	ROBERT DE WILTON, a canon here.
5th Dec., 1346.	JOHN DE DERLINGTON, a canon here.
	JOHN HORWORTH, a canon, occurs in 1391. He resigned 4th Sept., 1393.
28th Oct., 1393.	WALTER DE THORPE, a canon here.
1404.	JOHN DE HELMSLEY, occurs in 1408.
1430.	JOHN.
	THOMAS TWENGE occurs in 1436.
1437.	RICHARD ARETON or DE YRTON, who was previously prior of Helaugh, 1435-37. Upon his death
15th April, 1455.	THOMAS DARLINGTON, a canon, was elected.
	RICHARD DERNTON occurs in 1461.
10th Sept., 1475.	JOHN MOREBY.
	JOHN WHITBY occurs in 1491.
13th Mar., 1505.	JOHN MOREBY.
1511.	BENEDICT.
1511.	WILLIAM SPIRES.
1519.	JAMES COCKERELL, D.D., resigned, and, as rector of Lythe, was executed at Tyburn for participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace. He was first a canon here, then Prior and Rector of Lythe. He was afterwards made Abbot of Litteshall dioc. Coventry.
1535.	On the 20th Feb. Lancelot Colyns writes to Cromwell, "Have not yet executed your commission in taking the resignation of the Prior of Gisburne, I beg you to write to the Prior and convent in favour of Sir Nicholas Pacoke, canon and bowser there. This will satisfy your mastership. I beg your favour, and that they may have three years to pay the first fruits, which will amount to 1000 marks. Send some one to York to take inventories of religious houses, after the effect of your commission. I beg credence for Sir Geo. Lawson, Kt.
1540.	ROBERT PURSGLOVE, *alias* Sylvester, the last Prior. He surrendered the house. In the time of Queen Mary he was suffragan bishop of Hull. He resigned in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. "This Robert Pursglove, sometyme Bishoppe of Hull, deceased the 2nd daye of Maii, the year of our Lord God, 1579."

Out of the revenues of the Priory in 1553 there remained in charge the following pensions :—

	£	s.	d.
To Robert Pursglove the last Prior	166	13	4
Thomas Whitby	3	0	0
Henry Fletcher, William Hinde, and Oliver Grayson.	20	0	0
To Christopher Thompson	6	0	0
Richard Sterne, Gilbert Harrison, Edward Okerell, Wm. Wysedale, Christopher Mallow, Robt. Gregge, John Warrison, John Leighton, Robert Watson, George Hesiday, John Clarkson, and Bartholomew Lilford. Each 8 marks . .	64	0	0
In annuities and corrodies	11	6	8
Total of annual outpayments . .	£271	0	0

The revenues of this Priory in the 26th Hen. VIII. amounted in the gross to £712 6s. 6d.; the clear income being £628 3s. 4d. The

above list may be taken to represent the whole of the brethren at the surrender. This list numbers 18 conventual inmates, who in mere personal expenses yearly consumed a clear revenue of £628 3s. 4d., or £35 each, exclusive of the produce of the land in domain. The average stipend of a Rector or Vicar would not then exceed £12; a monk, therefore, was three times as costly to the nation, and he was not called upon to do parochial work. A landowner having £40 a year in lands was bound to take up knighthood, which represented so much strength in the general defence of the country. A monk consuming £40 a year, which also came from land, did not contribute in the like degree; it is, therefore, clear that in its secular duty the monkish system was a great weakness in the revenues of the nation; what it was in its religious duties I will leave to the proof of history and to the estimate of mankind. A moiety of the patronage of this priory belonged to Marmaduke de Thweng, who married Lucy de Brus. In the 13th Hen. IV. the advowson belonged to the Darcies of Temple Hirst; but in 1421 the Falconbergs of Skelton were patrons thereof. There is a vellum manuscript of the 14th century in the Cottonian Library, Cleopatra D. ii. fo. 110, which although intituled "Annotationes Cartarum de Gysburn" is in reality a cartulary. The instruments it contains are arranged under heads, as given in the *Mon. Ang.*

The site of the monastery was granted 4th Edw. VI. to Sir Thomas Chaloner, whose descendants still possess it. Among the Chaloner papers is a deed by which John, Prior of Guisborough, and his Convent, admit Edmund, Abbot of St Mary's, York, and the brethren of his Convent, into his fraternity, granting them an interest in their prayers and services both during life and after death. This deed has still the Priory seal to it, but much mutilated. On one side is the Virgin Mary and Child Christ sitting under a canopy, with the inscription AVE MARIA GRACIA PL.; on the other side is a person under a smaller canopy kneeling to the Virgin and raising his hands. The outer inscription, now imperfect, appears to have been, SIG. PRIORAT. BEATE MARIE DE GYSEBURNE. On the reverse is St. Augustine with mitre and crosier, sitting also beneath a dome-like canopy, with two figures on each side praying, and around him the words ORA P. NOB. SCE. AVGV. The marginal inscription is gone, the only letters remaining are AVGVSTINE TECUM FO. The crockets and finials of the smaller canopies are those of the latter part of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century—*Ord* 200. According to the *New Monasticon*, the common seal of the Priory was handsome and elaborate, representing the Virgin seated under the canopy as above on the one side, and on the other a monk on his knees praying, the legend being S . . . CAPITULI SCE. MARIE DE GISBURNE. An impression of this seal is extant in dark brown wax.

The churches of the following places were possessions of the Priory of Guisborn:—Barningham. Danby, Guisboro, Kirkburn, Kirk-Leav-

ington, Marske in Cleveland, Stainton in Cleveland, Upleatham, Ingleby-Arncliffe, Welbury, Ormsby, Crathorne, Marton in Cleveland, Easington and Acklam in Cleveland, East Harlsley, Lofthouse, Liverton, Sherburn in Harford-Dale, Hessle, Seamer and Wilton in Cleveland, Thornaby, West Heslerton and East Heslerton Chapel, Yarm, Bridekirk in Cumberland, and several churches in Scotland. In 1209 the Prior had 10 marks rent in the mill of Roger de Lascell in Scurueton, for the quit-daim which the Prior made to him of the advowson of the church of Kirkebi Super-Wisk.

In Tonge's "Visitation of the Northern Counties," 1530, Surtees Society, is given the Armes of the Monastery of Gysborow.

Arms: Argent, a lion rampant azure, debruised by a bend gules. Be yt notid that Syr Robert Brewse foundid the monastery of Gysborough, and heyre to the said Robert ys the Lord Faconberge. And the heyres to the Lord Fauconberge ys the Lord Conyers and Syr James Strangeways, and by partycion restyth the foundership of Gysborough, sole to my Lord Conyers and Syr James Strangeways, Knyght. The Brus coat was adopted by the Fauconberges, and, with the difference of the red bend, is given above. On the mouldings of the noble east window of the Priory church are some large shields, Fauconberge, or Brus and Fauconberge, ancient, on the south side, and Thwenge on the north. The monastic coat is given on a remarkable sculpture, preserved, with other salvage of the Priory, in the walls of the "Ruin" at Hardwick, near Sedgefield. In 1386, in the Scrope case, the Abbot of Guisburgh swore that his church was burnt 97 years before, and rebuilt. This agrees with the architecture of the choir, which is fine Early Decorated. He also mentions the south aisle of the cross of his church.

From Browne Willis's "Survey of York Cathedral," it appears that Pursglove was collated to the Prebend of Langtoft in 1538, which he resigned in 1541 for that of Wistow, from which he was deprived in 1559 for his religion. On January 31st he was appointed Archdeacon of Nottingham, from which he was deprived also in 1559, and sentenced to remain at Ugthorp, co. York, or within twelve miles thereof. He died May 2nd, 1579. Willis's "Survey," pp. 149, 180, and 106.

He was also Suffragan-Bishop of Hull. At the dissolution of his Priory he received a pension of £166 13s. 4d. per annum. In 1561, by deed dated August 11th, he founded the School and Hospital of Jesus, in Guisborough, to consist of two wardens, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor persons, six of each sex. See Lawton's "Collections," p. 483.

Underneath this stone as here doth ly a corps sometime of fame;
In Tiddeswell bred and born truly, Robert Purseglove by name;
And there brought up by parents' care, at schoole and learning trad
Till afterwards, by uncle dear, to London he was had;

Who William Bradshaw hight by name in Paul's which did him place,
And there at schoole did him maintaine full thrice three whole years' space.
And then into the Abbeye he was placed, as I wis,
In Southwark call'd, where it doth ly, Saint Mary Overis;
To Oxford then, who did him send into that College right,
And there 14 years did him find which Corpus Christi hight;
From thence away at length he went, a clerke of learning great,
To Gisburn Abbey streight was sent and placed in Prior's seat;
Bishop of Hull he was also, Archdeacon of Nottingham,
Provost of Rotherham College too, of York eak suffragan;
Two Gramer Schools he did ordain with land for to endure,
One Hospitall for to maintaine 12 impotent and poor.
O, Gisburn, throw with Tiddeswall town, lament and mourn you may,
For this said clerk of great renown lyeth here compact in clay;
Though cruel death hath now down brought this body which here doth ly,
Yet trump of fame stay can be nought to his prayse on high.

Qui legis hoc verbum credo reliquum memoreris,
Vile cadaver sum tuque cadaver eris.

Round the verge of the stone is the following:—

Christ is to me as life on earth,
And death to me is gain,
Because I trust thro' Him alone
Salvation to obtaine.

So brittle is the state of man,
So soon it doth decay;
So all the glorie of this world,
Must pass and fade away.

This Robert Pursglove, sometime Bishop of Hull,
deceas'd the 2nd day of May,
in the year of our Lord God, 1579.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

ARTHINGTON PRIORY.

THE present obscure hamlet of Arthington, in Wharfedale, once the seat of a knightly family and a priory of nuns—some say Benedictine, others Cluniac—of early foundation, was one of the first seats of population established during the Anglian domination of Yorkshire. Of that fact its name is the indisputable evidence. The word Arthington means the settlement of the children of Hartha, a name known among the names of the Angle chieftains; and so the future hamlet had its rise as a clan station, which became a dominating point in the earliest occupation of Wharfedale; the head-quarters of one of the commanders of the conquerors, pushed forward from the base of operations—the Roman road connecting Tadcaster and Ilkley—to the water's edge, for the military purpose of securing the line of the Wharfe. From this and the other place-names within the bounds of modern Arthington and in its neighbourhood, the history of the hamlet before the Norman Conquest may yet be read—at present, perhaps, with a somewhat faltering tongue; ere long with clear, articulate speech, and undoubtful meaning. Even now, in the dimmest of its intelligibility, the place-name distinctly

indicates one step in the advance of the Angle; while within and without the confines of the township are traces which speak as positively of the extent of his colonisation, and then of the later invasion, the resistance of the collected populace, amounting to one or more pitched battles, the military success, and eventual colonisation of the Dane—subjects long antecedent, but not entirely foreign, to our story. For long time after the Conquest there still lingered in the vale, the memories of the old Norse life and achievements; the population had scarcely changed their national habits for two centuries later.

Has the Wharfe's limpid stream borne a curse down the dale
  From yon shavelings whom Romelli's bride
Set to pray for the lad whom the merciless Strid
  Swept away with their o'er-weening pride?
Ere Hal Tracy, her lover, gave Kildwick's green glade
  For the right of her fair widowed hand,
And the monk got his pay for the lively dame's lust
  In the worth of her dead husband's land;
In those days, ere the Bastard's foul train had been taught
  That though Saxons their vassals might be,
The Bersark's bold raven that soars o'er our hills
  Is the type of ourselves, it is free!
Has the black Chevin's brow, where the wolf finds his lair,
  And the pine its stern grandeur upholds,
Turned your light-winged sleep to the soul-rusting sloth
  That the hearts of the feeble enfolds?
Have the meek dames of Ardingtun made you forget
  All the rage of the race whence you come,
And changed the proud songs of green Herewood's bright day,
  To the muttering prayers of Bedeholm?
Shall the shades of the Norsemen who held Riffa's brow
  On the day of that glorious fight,
Come to chide ye as nidering sons of your sires
  From their graves on the Rigtun's cold height?
And the phantoms that pace Olicana's grim fold,
  And there hail at the point of each day,
The great Cæsars they made for Imperial Rome,
  And for Latium's Imperial sway—
Shall they rouse the child of Old Norge up to arms,
  And then taunt him as unfit for war?
Him whose sires and whose grandsires enrolled their fame
  'Neath the glare of the fierce northern star!
Where the sun has no glory, the men have no fear,
  Where the winter's more drear than the tomb,
Shall they come and find you thus prone in your lair,
  When the day is dispelling night's gloom?

If, however, it is not to the early history of the township, but to the story of the Benedictine nunnery, the institution of which is due to one of the early lords of the manor, that we have to turn our attention, we cannot, in commencing that story, wholly overlook the aspect and condition of the country prior to the advent of the nuns. As it was at their coming, physically and socially, so must their labours have been directed to grapple with it. Evidence sufficient remains to show us that, whatever may have been the religious condition of the people, the

Priory was founded in the heart of a scarcely broken wooded pasture—a bosky dell, such as our colonial brethren now call "the bush." Of that there can be no doubt. There is, however, some uncertainty, which is increased by research, attached to the date of foundation. The accepted account is that Peter de Arthington founded it in the latter part of the reign of King Stephen or the beginning of that of Henry II.—that is to say, between the years 1150 and 1160—the very time that Kirkstall Abbey was being established; and if that account be disputed, it will only be for the purpose of ante-dating the foundation by a score of years or so, for reasons which I shall hereafter give. The account states that the founder gave the site of the convent to the honour of the Virgin Mary, and endowed the nuns with other lands, which Pope Alexander comfirmed; and Serlo, son of the said Peter, gave lands in the same territory—in Bedesholm and Hubberholm, and all the land between Tebecroft amd Soterkeld.

Some of these names yet remain; it is worthy of note that they are of Danish designation, and characteristic of use and ownership. Bedesholm means the prayer-field; Hubberholm is the holm of Hubba, the Dane, a name well known in the military annals of the Danish invasions. Tebecroft, in other places spelt Tebbycroft, and known to other monasteries, is a compound word whose etymology I am not quite master of; Soterkeld indicates a water-store of some description, perhaps it may have been a well or spring at which the pigs were accustomed to drink,—Avice de Romeli at the foundation gave pannage for forty hogs in her wood of Swinden, be it observed. From these descriptions, and the descriptions of other donations about to come, it may therefore be inferred that the lands so given were in the wild fringe of the territory beyond the ancient Anglian limit of cultivation, and upon territory more or less reclaimed by the Dane during his later domination—an inference which has no inconsiderable bearing upon the earliest history of the convent, from which—and the incidents mentioned in the following charters, two of the very few that remain—the antecedent date of the foundation may be fixed, and some glimpses of its early life derived. Before pursuing this, however, it will be better to consider the domestic history of the great Norman family to whom the lordship of the district fell after the Conquest.

William, son of Vicomte Ranulf, in common with his elder brother Ranulf, and his own son Ranulf, had the surname of Mischinus, adopted apparently with a view to distinguish them from relatives of the same name with whom they were contemporary, by denoting their later birth, the word being descriptive of a "young man;" but by the transcribers of charters the erroneous substitution of *de* for *le* was frequently made, and *Mischinus*, or *Le Meschine*, *i.e.*, junior, being thus read *de Meschines*, the surname has been mistaken for one of local origin. In 1120, a monastery of canons was founded at Embsay by the Lord William le Meschin and the Lady Cecilia, his wife, heiress of the Honour of Skipton, in honour of the Blessed Mary and St. Cuthbert, bishop (21

Hen. I., and second year of Thurstan, Archbishop of York), and they gave to the canons there serving God the church of Skipton, with its chapel of Carlton, and the whole village of Emmesay. In 31 Hen. I., 1130-31, William, son of Ranulph the Vicomte, accounted in Everwicscira of twenty marks of silver of pleas held before Geoffrey de Clinton and his associates at Blythe, and had paid half the sum into the Treasury in that year; after whose death Cecilia de Romeli remarried Henry de Traches, as shown by their joint grant of Kildwick to the Canons of Embsay. The name Henricus de Traches, as read in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, is clearly to be understood for Henry de Tracheo—Trak-eo, Tracey—to whom King Stephen offered the barony of Barnstaple, co. Devon, and who stood foremost among the upholders of his usurped crown. He had a son Oliver, who in 1164 gave 500 marks for livery of his property of the Honour of Barnstaple, and who in 1172 held a Knight's fee in Normandy, in the Vicomté of Cerences. Stephen had been made Comte of Mortain, and on his elevation to the throne had rewarded his Norman vassal with the rich inheritance of the widowed Cecilia de Romilly. It is out of squabbles like these and the intrigues resorted to by the usurper and the disinherited that we can find more motives for the foundation of religious houses, which, in other words, means purchasing the alliance and countenance of the Church, than are supplied by genuine piety.

Ranulph, son and heir of William Le Meschin, will have died without issue in the lifetime of his mother, leaving Adeliza his sister, wife of William, grandson of Duncan, King of Scotland, sole inheritrix of the Honour of Skipton, to which she had succeeded before 1155, whence in her widowhood the Canons of Embsay were translated to Bolton, with the consent of William of Egremont, her son, and of her daughters. Among the evidences of St. Mary's Abbey, York, was a charter of Ranulph Meschines, son of William, son of Ranulph, confirming to that religious house the church of St. Bees in Copeland, and seven carucates of land, and all its parish, and whatever his father had given to the same church, for the redemption of his own soul and for the souls of his father and all his relations, as well of his lords, by the counsel and testimony of his liegemen, by Fulk his uncle, and Reiner *Dapifer* and Godard (*Dapifer*, who, and Matilda his wife, were benefactors to the Abbey), and Ranulph the Sheriff, Siward the priest, William the chaplain, and William d'Arques (de Arches, of Thorp Arch, who, with Ivetta his wife, was founder of Nun Monkton and a donor to St. Mary's). Fulk, his uncle, was perhaps brother of Henry de Tracy, his stepfather, as the name is not met with in the charters of members of his own family Among the witnesses, however, of the charter of Henry, son of Henry de Percy, occur Fulk, the *dapifer* son of Reinfrid, Prior of Whitby, and his son William; and these are evidently the same men. Fulk, the son of Rayfrid, was also witness of William Percy's charter to Whitby during Prior Serlo's time. The whole story is wrapped in obscurity, which may possibly be removed by an investigation of the

Scottish annals, for at that time we must not forget that Cumberland formed a part of the kingdom of Scotland. In the charter of Cecilia de Romeli, which contains her gift of the Vill of Kildwick and land in Stratton to the church of Embsay, we read this declaration—*ita quod ego et gener meus Willelmus, nepos Regis Scotiæ Duncani, obtulimus eiisdem per unam cultellam villas super altare Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Cuthberti.* King William Rufus had made Duncan, bastard son of Malcolm, both a Knight and King of the Scots on the death of his father, in 1093; but he being slain in the next year, his legitimate brothers were his successors in the kingdom. He had, it seems, left issue a son of the same name, father of William here named, by Dugdale incorrectly described as "Earl of Murray, in Scotland, nephew to Malcolm, King of that realm."

Meanwhile, the fief of Remilly in Normandy had devolved, apparently by right of inheritance, upon Lucia, wife of Jordan de Say, of whose joint grant the monks of Aunay had a moiety of the land they had in Asnieres, and tithe of the mills, toll, orchards, and cattle of Aunay and Remilly (de Romelleio), and tithe of eels and of the two acres of land in which the grange of the monks was built, and two parts of the whole tithe of Remilly, and two parts of the tithe of Banquay; in England, of the gift of the same Jordan and Lucia they had the church of Kirtlington, co. Oxon, with the glebe and all its appurtenances, and in Burcester the tithe of their demesne and the chapel of Jewe, with the tithes of their demesnes. Of the gift of Richard de Humez and Agnes his wife, daughter and heir of the said Jordan and Lucy, the same monks had the church of Remilly (de Romelleio) in its entirety, with all its appurtenances. Langrune was also of the inheritance of the family of Hommet, and given by William the Constable to Aunay in 1190, on the day that the abbey church was dedicated. From these evidences it may be safely assumed that Lucia, wife of Jordan de Say, was nearly akin to Robert and Adelaidis de Remilly, and it may be sister of Cecilia, whom genealogical writers of late date designate as daughter and heir of Robert de Remilly, though her parentage is not specified in her charters.

However this may have been, the charter of William de Courcy, the *dapifer* to the Nuns of Arthington, names another sister, and renders the above statement improbable. It was Avice de Rumelli (she is called Alice in the charter of Warin Fitzgerald), mother of William de Courcy, the *dapifer Regis Angliæ*, who gave to Arthington, on condition that she and her heirs should always have one nun of their presentation supported by the house, a *dignitas* which her son would not forego. Courcy, in the *pays d' Auge*, was the *caput* of an extensive barony which Robert de Courci held in the reign of Henry I., and to which belonged eight knights' fees in the bailiwick of Oximin, which also included Ranville, a parish situate on the banks of the Orne not far from the coast, and of which the church and tithe had been confirmed to the Abbey of Aunay in the Bessin, as being of his fief, by Richard du Hommets,

father of William the Constable. It was from this Reinville, or Rainville, that the ancestors of William de Rainville of Bramley came. We learn from Robert du Mont that William de Curcy *Dapifer Regis Angliæ* had died in 1177, leaving, by the daughter of Richerius de Aquila, an eldest son of the same name in tender years, and other children. In 1180 the heirs of William de Curceio owed to the bailiwick of Oximin £73 17s. 6d. of the debt of their father, and £200 "de Insulis," that is, Jersey and Guernsey, where Robert de Agneaux had acted as the farmer of the said William. The King discharged the debt due from William to Peter de Bures, the provost, and took upon himself the mortgage upon the land of Walter de Donestanville, as also the security of Nicholas de Totes. In a charter to Fountains, Alice de Rumeli, who described herself as "daughter of William, son of Dunecan," gives the land which Roger, the clerk, held—a toft and a croft in Cockermouth; witnesses, William de Boivill, Drogo the chaplain, John Alem, William de Perci, Richard de Alnebure, Roger de Burneben, Richard the clerk of William, Walter Harper, William de Camera; and in confirmation of donations by King Richard I., we find included whatever the monks have of the gifts or feoffments or fees of Thurston, Archbishop, the founder; of Alice de Romlay, of Alice her daughter, of William de Fortibus, of Baldwin de Beton, Earl of Albemarle, of Alan Earl of Brittany, Richard or William de Perci, Roger de Mowbray, G. Rugemond, Petro de Bruz, P. de Lassell, William de Stoteville.

Another early transaction which may have some bearing upon the spread of this family is reported in the charter of Peter, son of Serlo de Ardintun, giving two bovates of land in Ardington to the Knights Hospitallers in 1186:—Peter, son of Serlo de Ardingtun, with the assent of Hawise, my wife, and my heirs, give to the holy house of the Hospitallers two bovates of land, viz., one which Herbert, son of Peter Ruffus, held, and another bovate near and to the west of that, which Arthur, brother of the said Herbert, held. But Master Warner and the brethren of the said hospital have given to me by the hand of Walter de Perci, then procter, 8½ marks. Dat. 1186.—Stapleton's *Norman Rolls, &c.*

After the formal bequest of the site, the little convent received their patronage. The charter of William de Curci, the King's sewer, confirms "the gift which my mother Avice de Rumelli gave to the nuns, on this condition, that there shall always be in the house of Arthington one nun which the Lady Avice shall have placed there; and my mother being dead, I, her son and heir, and my heirs, shall have this honourable privilege *(dignitas)*." The conditions of this gift point to a settled habitation at a period immediately succeeding the death of the Lady Avice, the witnesses to it pointing to the probability that it was made on the convent altar. They are all men of the neighbourhood. William, parson of Harewood; William, chaplain of the house of the Lady Avice (*so her household was not yet broken up*); Gocelin (very probably the

person who, in later life, 1186, was Archdeacon of Chichester); Robert de Withetune, Hugh Rufus, Roger de Fedringale (one of the known retainers of William Percy), and Andrew Tirrell. Avice, or Alice, de Rumelli was that noble lady whose name shall endure in Yorkshire history to the end of time, the bereaved mother who founded "Bolton's stately Priory." Her gift to the nuns of Arthington consisted of a moiety of Helthwaite (the *hælig-thuaite*, the holy clearing), together with pannage in harvest time for forty hogs in her wood of Swinden, and common pasture for their cattle in the same wood. The other moiety or some portion of it went to the Canons of Bolton, from Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, who gave them the towns of Wigton and Brandon, with the appurtenances, and 2 carucates of land in Witheton and Helthat, with the appurtenances, and 9 bovates of land in Rawdon.

The other charter is of Warin Fitz Gerold, the King's Chamberlain. which confirms the donation of Lady Avice de Romeli, and was witnessed by Simon de Montealto, who was alive in 1201, Robert de Aumri, Alexander de Witon, Adam, then Dean of Craven, Richard and John and Hugh, chaplains, Adam the butler, Alan his brother, Hugh de Wytheton, William de Stubhus, and Ralph the clerk. Warin Fitz Gerold was dead in 1218, in which year Falkes de Breaute owes to the King £100, for relief of the land of the late Warine, whose daughter and heir Falkes had in marriage. One of the witnesses already mentioned, Roger de Fodringhay, was himself a donor, his donation being of the utmost interest; he, Sigreda* his wife, and Jordan de Risford, gave four acres of land in Helewic, with pasture for forty cattle, twenty hogs, and twenty goats, besides easements in the wood of Helewic, all which were confirmed by William, son of Cospatric de Estaincotes and Petronilla his wife, daughter of the said Roger de Fodringhay. In these names of places and persons we have the link which seems to bind the date of the foundation to a period antecedent to that usually accepted. Helewic is of Norse speech; it signifies the *holy place or situation*, and the fact that the native owner, the son of the Dane Cospatric, is called by a Norman name, William, carries us back to the first fusion of the rival races—that is, to a period not later than the reign of Henry I.; and in Helewic and Helthwaite, Bedesholm and Hubberholm, we have the uncorrupted Norse speech, another clear glimpse of the era of the early days of the foundation which seems to throw it back as a tentative, struggling, and therefore much unknown effort, into the years when the reign of order and reconciliation was emerging from the rule of force and disunion.

*In this ancient name we have a bond which firmly links the inhabitants of Wharfedale with the old Scandinavian rovers. We meet with the name frequently in Laing's *Sea Kings of Norway* as that of a person of exalted station. The name retained its popularity—in Wharfedale, to the end of the thirteenth century. In 1272, Robert, the son of Sygrith was just dead. Thomas, son of Sigherith, sister of Robert, son of Uckeman lived in Clint in John's reign.

Besides their bearing upon the date of the foundation, these names reveal the old story that is everywhere becoming obvious to the student of the history of monastic foundations. The first years of the effort at establishment are passed in obscurity and toil, the colony being tolerated rather than recognised. An outlying desert nook wild, impracticable, unnamed, and almost unknown, has, in the case of most monastic foundations, been the only spot that baronial charity could afford to Christian piety. To take the instance at hand, as in Headingley so in Arthington, both of them outlying members of great parishes, the Anglo-Norse peasantry had at the very same moment of time to identify the superior foundation, where wealth and power produced an immediate and visible result, as the Kirk-stal, the place where the quickly rising church was situated; and the inferior foundation where struggling women, but little aided by the mighty and the opulent, were raising the cross of Christ—as the Helewic, the holy spot, whence shone the soft, tender, soothing light of religion upon their half-pagan minds. With the knowledge, then, of the circumstances of the foundation before us, we see how, in the case of Kirkstall and Arthington at least, the early monks and nuns literally went forth into the wilderness to preach and to teach the Gospel to the neglected dwellers on the borders of the large parishes, whose churches were so far off as to be practically inaccessible. From these circumstances, I therefore surmise that the advent of the colony of nuns to Arthington may be taken to have been some years before the formal dedication of the site. Up to the time of Alice de Romeli—that is, long after the first comers had planted themselves on the spot subsequently given to them by Peter de Arthington—it would seem that their local habitation had as yet to receive a specific name. It seems to have been parted and almost absorbed by the church, for William, son of William de Altancotes, gave to Kirkstall 4 acres of land with a toft here and pasture for 12 head of cattle and 20 sheep.

How long it was simply known as the Holy Spot, before the completion of the church and conventual buildings justified the grander title of the Convent of our Lady of Arthington, we may possibly never know. But enough has been given to enable us to realise some idea of the conventual church at least; and it is not improbable that, if we take the neighbouring church of Adel as the type, we may reproduce from it the priory church of Arthington, both as to its size and architectural features. It is well-nigh certain that the two churches were erected almost at the same time. Nun Monkton Priory Church, still remaining, though a little later than Arthington, is also likely to bear a strong resemblance to it.

Throughout the whole of its existence the convent was poor, its patrons ever being but chary donors, if a correct list of their donations has come down to us. And yet there is evidence that the convent continued to enjoy the superior reputation which the dignity of its first patrons gave to it.

All that we know of the generosity of the Arthingtons is from an award made the Saturday next before the Feast of St. Michael, 28 Hen.

VI, 1449, by John Thwaites, betwixt John Arthington and the Prioress and convent, which recites "that Peers of Arthington gaffe them the place, the whilk the said abby is biggyd on," and the gift of Serle and the gift of "Peers, the said Serle son, of one acre of land, &c., and half an acre of land the gyft of his moder in the hede of Lincroft," and also the gift of Geoffrey, son of Peers of Arthington; "and also that Agas of Arthington, daughter of—Vavasour, gaffe all her land in Thebecroft, &c.; and the gift of Raufe, son of Geoffray of Arthington." The dates of these transactions may be approximately fixed. In the 3rd Richard I., 1191, there is a final concord at York, between Peter Arthington, complainant, and the monks of Kirkstall, tenants of land in Cookridge in right of the monastery. Peter Arthington grants to the hospital of St. Peter at York, Malger and his wife, and what he held of Peter in Arthington, and common of pasture in the same town. Ralph Arthington confirms to the son of the lord of Goldesburgh; he was alive 46th Hen. III., 1261. In 1201, Agnes Vavasour renders account of 2½ marks for having response; and in the same year Robert de Goldesburc renders account of 20d. for trangression.

Ralph, son of Hamel of Pouill (Pool), gave a toft and messuage in Pool which belonged to Holbert of Hevat; witnesses, Hugh Lelay (who was living in 1201, and gave the church of Weston to York Cathedral in 1221), Nicholas Ward, William Lindele (who was living in 1220), Paul Hevat (then bailiff of Otele), William Lassell, Henry Weschoe, Nigel Horsford, and Robert Brun. Thomas, son of Isaac de Pouil, in 1254, gave a culture of land in Pool, extending in length from Milnebec to the highway leading to York. By an agreement made at the feast of St. Martin, 1266, between Robert de Pouel and William Arthington, Robert leaseth to the said William the rent of 20s. for a term of 20 years, to be taken of tenements in Pouell, Ralph Arthington being witness. Jeremy, son of William de Marton, gave pasture in Bramhope for 200 sheep, with common in the pastures, and turbary in the whole. He also gave all his lands and meadow in Pool, with an essart of land in the same territory called Snetholfeding.

In 1205, Simon de Kime gave 2 marks for a "precepe" from Easter-day in the three weeks, against Roger the chaplain of 4 bovates of land with their appurtenances in Appleton, and for having three writs *de morte Antecessoris*, one between him, Simon, and Roheis his wife,

plaintiffs, and Robert de Munceaus defts. of 10½ bovates of land in Appelton; and another between them, Simon and Roheis and Hugh de Lelay, defts. of two bovates of land there; and a third between them and Walter de Faucumberg deft. of 15½ bovates, with their appurtenances there.* Robert de Lelay occurs in 1201. In 1206, he gave ten palfreys, of which two shall be good ones, for that the King will not interrupt him on the Thursday, nearest after the middle of Lent, concerning the church of Tadcaster, nor concerning the clerks among whom there is contention—only so far as it belongs to his crown. Brian de Insula and the Sheriff of York are commanded not to interfere in the church or with the clerks, except so far as they have the King's special command. In 1201, the Sheriff returned account of one mark of Hugh de Lelay for having a writ of summons against Jordan de Sancta Maria, and Alice his wife, at Westminster. Simon, son of Robert de Pouill, in 1258, gave his meadow in Pool lying near Winarderiding.

Anice Stubhouse, daughter and heiress of Geoffrey Woodhouse, gave the homage and service of Richard de Stubhouse, which he was wont to do to Geoffrey her father, and of Isaac de Stubhus, her native, and all the toft and croft which lie between the toft of Agnes, late sister of William Stubbus, and the toft of the aforesaid Richard on the south; witnesses, Sir Richard Gramais, Sir Hugh Lelay, Sir Jordan Bingle, Richard More, Adam Wycon, Roger Newhal, Henry Westlack, Henry Stubhus, Henry Gaukethorp, Adam Wyvael, William Abel, and Simon Bramley. Henry de Stubhus also granted lands about the same time, as the following witnesses testify:—Jordan Bingele Adam Wycon,† Ralph Arthington, Roger Newhal, Henry Gaukethorpe, Adam Marshall (the farrier) of Winsdell, Henry the son of Samuel Adem. Richard de Mora gave two bovates of land in Aluualdesle in 1256. John Clerk of Wyverdlay (Weardley), gave half an acre, which Helen, his mother, had before bestowed upon them. Witnesses, Sir Richard de Nore, Henry Wescots, Ralph Arthington, Richard Stubhus, Robert Pouill, Robert Atwood of Wyverdlay, Henry, son of Gamel of Wyverdlay (the Danish Christian name still lingering),‡ Jordan Lofthus, Roger Newhal, Henry Gaukethorpe, Elias Eastellay.

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* On the morrow of the Holy Trinity, 7th John, Roger, the priest of Newton (Kyme), came and quitclaimed to Simon de Kyme and Roheis his wife, all the right that he had in four bovates of land with their appurtenances in Apelton. John de Harpeham, attorney of Walter de Faukenberg, sought against Hugh de Lelay 3½ carucates of land in Appelton as his right and heirship. They agree, and Hugh de Lely admits all the land to be the right of Walter, and for this admission Walter grants to Hugh and his heirs all that land except 5½ bovates which he retained, having them in domain for service, as much as the land should do where 16 carucates make a knight's fee. *Abb. Flac.*, 73.

† Ralph, brother and heir of William, son of Hugh de Creskeld, gave to Kirkstall his right to the homage and service of Adam de Wycon and his family for one tenement in Adel. Adam, son of Hugh de Wyton, gave an annuity to Kirkstall out of lands at Iveker in the fee of Adel.

‡ The old name has been more than singular. Helewise, daughter of Gamel of Burtheden, gave to Kirkstall all the land in Burden belonging to her carucate in Southecrofts.

Robert de Insula, lord of Harewood in 1332, gave a quarter of wheat yearly out of his manor of Harewood every Michaelmas for the good of his soul and that of Margaret his wife. Thomas, son of Henry de Screvin, gave Paynscroft, in Wyton, lying near the road to Digton. On the 12th January, 1377, the parish church of Maltby, near Doncaster, given to the nunnery of Arthington, was appropriated to it by Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York, who, in recompense of the damage done to his cathedral church, thereby reserved to himself and successors out of the fruits thereof an annual pension of 13s. 4d., and to his dean and chapter 6s. 8d., payable at the two seasons of Pentecost and Martinmas, saving also to the perpetual Vicar of the church (who shall be presentable by the religious for ever) his ancient rights, with the annual pension of four marks, which had been usually paid by the Rectors. In 1545, Henry Arthington, Esq., and George Powell, yeoman, present to the vicarage of Maltby, by reason of the advowson or patronage given to them by the Prioress of Arthington. Sir Alan de Peryngton gave a discharge to the Prioress, in the 20th Ric. II., 1396, of 4s. of rent out of Wyverdlay. According to the Escheats 14th Ric. II., 1390, Sir William de Aldeburgh and Margaret his wife held lands in Horsforth, Yedon, Stubhus, and Helthwayt.

There was a dignity about the family of Arthington, the manor-house, and Convent, of which we have yet sufficient evidence remaining to warrant us in attributing the origin of the family to a cadet branch of one of the great Wharfedale houses. Attached to the manor-house we find the private chapel, a mark of superiority. I will illustrate the social history of the house by an extract from the will of John de Dene, Canon of Ripon, who died in 1435. I leave, says he, to the nuns of Esshald, 6s. 8d.; I also leave to the lady Alice Cheldray, a nun of that house, 6s. 8d., if she shall be living at the time of my death, if not, I wish that the said 6s. 8d. be distributed among the poor sisters of Esshald. I leave to the nuns of Arthington, near Otley, 13s. 4d. John Arthington, senr., was then the patron of the Priory. The testator mentions him and his family. I leave to John Arthington, junr., son and heir of John Arthington, senr., a piece of silver, covered with a lid, standing upon a foot, "annameld on le pomell," and 12 spoons of the best kind. I leave to Robert Arthington, son of the said John, a piece of silver lidded with "a flatt knopp," and 12 spoons of the smaller kind. I leave to John Arthington, senr., a portifor, formerly belonging to Magister William de Cawood, and a missal with two silver-gilt "knoppes," and also a piece of silver lidded with "a rounde knoppe," formerly belonging to Mr. W. de Cawood. I leave to Margaret Arthington, wife of John Arthington, senr., a piece of silver to remain as a heirloom in the manor of Arthington. John Arthyngton and Elizabeth his wife to be of the executors. On the 22nd October, 1493, license is granted for William Norton and Joan Arthington to marry, they being related in the fourth degree; and on the same day a license (in which the man's name is John) is issued to the Rector of Adel to marry them in the chapel

within the manor-house of Arthington. On the 19th August, 1505, a licence was granted for Henry Arthington and Matilda Goldesburgh to be married in the chapel of Arthington. There had been intermarrying between these families many years before. In 1295, Maud, daughter of Marianna Arthington, releaseth to Richard Goldesburg her right to a halfpenny rent in Arthington. In 1334, Lawrence Arthington releaseth to Richard Goldesburgh, the younger, his right to 2d. rent for license to make a mill dam at Castley. In 1349, Alice and Dyota, daughters of Maud, daughter of Marianna de Arthington, release to Sir Richard Goldesburgh, Knight, their rights in lands in Arthington, late belonging to Ydonea, daughter of Margaret, daughter of Marianna de Arthington. In 1389, variances between Richard Goldesburgh and Robert Arthington about a part of Castley mill-dam taken up in presence of sundry people. In 1372, Robert Arthington releaseth to Richard Goldesburgh £40, due to him by bond. In 1479, John Arthington, Esq., was obligated to Richard Goldesburgh £100 by the award of John Norton, Esq., for not appearing as to lands in Pool and Creskeld. In 1583, William Arthington indenteth with Richard Goldesburgh concerning wastes in Creskeld moor.

The recorded catalogue of the Prioresses is very incomplete. For at least a century and a half nothing is known of them personally. The first upon record is—

19th Jan., 1300.	MATILDA DE KASWICK, upon whose death a commission for the election of a successor was issued on the 14th Kal. February, 1299 (19th January, 1300). She appears to have been a native of Keswick (of her family I know nothing), and to have been succeeded by
	AGNES DE SCREVIN, a sister, no doubt, of Henry de Screvin, whose son Thomas gave Paynscroft in Wyton (Wigton). Henry de Screvyn was one of the King's foresters of the forest of Knaresborough in 1304. He had a daughter named Agnes, married to William de Merkevale, and was dead before 1334. She ceded the rule, when
4th Dec,, 1302.	AGNES DE PONTEFRACT was confirmed as Prioress by the Archbishop of York on the 2nd nones (4th) December, 1302. She seems to have vacated by cession, and was probably the same person who was confirmed Prioress of Hampole on the 2nd Kal. March (28th February), 1312. Her successor at Arthington was
30th March, 1311.	ISABELLA DE BERGHBY, confirmed 3rd Ides March, 1311. The circumstances of her short rule are unknown. She was succeeded by
18th Sept., 1312.	MAUD DE BATHELAY (probably Maud Copley, of Batley), a nun here, who was confirmed in her office, 14th Kal. October (18th Sept.), 1312. Her vacation is unknown (a broken period follows), but she is said to have been succeeded by
	ISABEL BAUTRE, of whom nothing more is known than that she died in office, and was succeeded by
14th Sept., 1349.	ISABEL DE BENYGHLEY (most probably Bingley, of the same family as Jordan de Bingley, already recorded as a donor). She was confirmed on 14th September, 1349. It is most probable that this Prioress was a niece of the

14th Sept., 1349. (*Con.*) Arthingtons by intermarriage.* Of her rule and vacation nothing is known. More than a century elapses, during which

ALICE ROUCESTRE only is named as occupying the office, the date of her rule not being given. She is said to have vacated by death. The next recorded Prioress is

19th March, 1463. MARJORIA CRAVEN, confirmed 19th March, 1463. Of her family, rule, and vacation nothing is known. Her successor is said to have been

KATHERINE WILSTROPE, evidently a member of the family de Wyvelsthorp or Willestrop, members of which have already been mentioned. The date of her confirmation is not given; she vacated by death, and was succeeded by

6th Dec, 1484. ALICE MAUD, confirmed 6th December, 1484. She appears to have been a member of the local branch of the illustrious family De Monte Alto, one of whom, Simon, a man of influence in his day, is mentioned above. She vacated by death, and was succeeded by

14th May, 1492. ELIZABETH POPELY, confirmed 17th May, 1492; deprived *propter notoriam incontinentiam*, and succeeded by

27th August, 1494. MARGARET TURTON, confirmed 27th August, 1494; she vacated by death, and was succeeded by

1496. ALICE HALL, confirmed in Easter-week, 1496. Of her nothing more is known. Unless there is an omission, she enjoyed an unusually long rule, and her successor, probably a kinswoman, was

17th July, 1532. ELIZABETH HALL, a nun of the house, and the last Prioress. She was confirmed 17th July, 1532, and surrendered the house on the 26th November, 31st Henry VIII., 1540. She had a pension assigned to her of £5 per annum, which she enjoyed in 1553. At the time of the surrender there remained in charge £5 6s. 8d. in annuities, and these pensions to the following nuns, whose names still linger in the neighbourhood, and show the class from which the religious were drawn:—Elizabeth Vavasour, Katherine Cokel, Joan Thompson, Agnes Pettye, Dorothy Procter, Essam Ratclyffe, Elizabeth Wormwell, Isabel Whitehead, and Joan Hales, each £1 6s. 8d. In the 26th Henry VIII., the annual revenue of the Priory was valued at £11 8s. 4½d., Dugdale; £19, Speed.

There were ten *religieuses* in this house about the time of the dissolution. It is worthy of remark that no member of the family of the patron is recorded as having ruled over the house, nor do the ranks of the convent seem to have been largely recruited from the families of *armigeri* after the first half of the conventual

*I append a few biographical notes from the Harl. MS.:—Agreement between Geoffrey Arthington and Jordan Bingley, without date. Eva, widow of Geoffrey Ardington, confirms to Jordan Bingley private lands in Arthington. Ralph, son of Geoffrey Arthington, confirms to Gilbert Bingley lands in Creskeld. Lawrence, son of Jordan Arthington, gave to Robert Bouensunt lands in Poole, 1339. In 1409, a fine between Richard Arthington, compt. and, John Arthington and Margaret his wife, deforciants of the manor of Flasby in Craven and Baroby, near Harewood, to be the right of the same Richard. Walter Arthington presented to the Chantry of St. Thomas the martyr in the church of St. Mary, Castlegate, 6th April. 1528. In 1432, John Arthington and Elizabeth his wife have a confirmation of a writing made unto them by John, Archbishop of York, of lands in Ripon and elsewhere. William Arthington, gent., died 20th August, 4th Edw. VI., and Robert was son and heir and of the age of 30 years.

existence. One of them may, however, have been an inmate of the house, called thence to rule elsewhere. Isabella Arthington, confirmed in 1518, was the last Prioress of Hampole. Dodsworth records that in the north window of High Melton church he found an inscription—Orate pro anima, &c., of lady Isabel Arthington, Prioress of Hampale, and also of all the benefactors of this glass window in the year of our Lord, M.CCCCCXII. The testamentatary burials at Arthington were those of Robert de Arthington, by will proved 21st November, 1391; Robert Everingham, by will proved 8th October, 1482; and John Arthington, by will proved 24th March, 1507.

The site of the monastery was granted, 34th Henry VIII., 1543, to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; and in the 1st Edw. VI., 1547, the King again granted this site, with divers messuages, &c., in Arthington, to the same person; and in the fourth year of his reign the King granted him license to alieniate the same to Peter Hammond and others, as trustees for the use of Thomas Cranmer, his younger son. The Priory stood very pleasantly near the river Wharfe, in its deep vale, extending east and west, and including all the milder beauties of Wharfedale, richly wooded scenery, and pastoral prosperity, if not surrounded by the rugged grandeur of Bolton and the higher parts; but no remains whatever are left to indicate the size or appearance of the monastic buildings. The common seal of this monastery is appendant to a deed preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster, without date, but apparently of the fourteenth century. The subject is a side view of the Blessed Virgin, crowned, but without the Infant, bearing in her right hand a lily. The inscription is imperfect, all that remains being ✠ SIGILL - - SCE MARIE - - D - - - NGTUN.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

CAMPANOLOGY: PEALS OF TWELVE BELLS IN ENGLAND.

THE following list of twelve-bell peals is the fullest that gives the date, weight, and note of the tenor, also the founders. The earliest *ring* was at York Cathedral, dated 1681.

Date.	Churches.	Founders.	Weight.	Cwt.	q.	lb.
1681.	York Cathedral Church. ... Melted down to a peal of ten, 1765, by Lester and Packe, of Whitechapel. Destroyed by fire, 1829, after which a new ring was cast by Mears in	Ancient ...		63	0	0
1844.	... ...	... ...	C.	53	3	9
1715.	St. John's, Cirencester	Rudhall ...	D.	28	0	0
1719.	St. Bride's, Fleet-street	Ditto. ...	D.	28	0	0
1724.	St. Nicholas's, Liverpool	Dobson ...	C.	41	0	0
1726.	St. Martin's-in-the Fields	Rudhall ...	D.	28	0	0
1729.	St. Michael's, Cornhill	Whitechapel ...	C.	41	0	0
1731.	St. Mary's, Painswick ... ... (Two trebles added in 1821.)	Rudhall ...	D.	28	0	0
1735.	St. Saviour's, Southwark	Knight ...	B.	52	0	0
1739.	St. Leonard's, Shoreditch ... ... (Two trebles added in 1823. Tenor cracked by clocking, February 27th, 1860.)	Whitechapel ..	D.	30	0	0
1770.	St. Mary's, Cambridge	Whitechapel ...	D.	30	0	0
1771.	St. Martin s, Birmingham	Ditto. ...	D.	36	1	24
1775.	St. Peter's, Mancroft, Norwich ...	Ditto. ...	C.	41	0	0
1787.	St. John's, Halifax (13 bells) ...	Ditto. ...	E.	25	0	0
1787.	St. Giles's, Cripplegate	Ditto. ...	D.	36	0	0
1798.	St. Chad's, Shrewsbury	Ditto. .	C.	41	1	0
1828.	Quex Park, Isle of Thanet	Ditto. ...	F.	15	0	0
1830.	St. Mary's, Oldham	Ditto. ...	C.	30	0	0
1841.	St. Peter's, Leeds (13 bells)... ...	Ditto. ..	C.	36	0	0
1847.	West Bromwich (13 bells)	Ditto. ...	E.	23	0	0
1867.	St. Mary le Tower, Ipswich ...	Warners ...	C *sharp*	30	2	0
1868.	St. Peter's, St. Alban's, augmented by	Warners ...	E.	23	0	0
1869.	Worcester Cathedral Church ... (In the moulds.)	Taylor ...	D.	49	0	0

The advantage of an extra bell, as at Halifax, Leeds, &c., is, that the key may be occasionally altered from a *major* to a *minor*, when less than the full number of twelve are rung. The grand *ring* of ten at Exeter Cathedral is most remarkable for this clever arrangement. It is to be observed that a *ring* of bells was the old phrase for a set of bells, and not a peal; this latter word being applied to the performance of ringing, whether one bell or more; and among change-ringers it means the performance of the full number of changes which may be rung on a given number of bells: a less number of changes is called a *touch*.

H. T. ELLACOMBE, M.A.

VERT AND VENISON.

Merry it was in the grene forest
  Amonge the leves grene,
Where as men hunt east and west
  Wyth bowes and arrowes kene ;
To raise the dere out of theyr denne
  Suche sightes hath oft bene sene.
Ballad of Adam Bell.

FROM the earliest times Yorkshire has been famous for vert and venison. The great hero of the peasantry of England is associated with its forests and glades both by birth and adventure. The greatest archers and the deftest of poachers, according to the old ballads, are from the "north countrie." Among the most persistent of the feudal trespassers were Yorkshire knights and churchmen, whose offences varied from stealing the King's deer and slaying his subjects to imparking their lands and defying his authority. In 1200, William de Thameton gave the King 200 marks and two palfreys for having the peace of the forest from which he was restrained. His pledges for the debt were William de Stuteville, Eustace de Vesci, Peter de Brus, and Robert de Ros—a respectable lot. It is almost idle to say that for horsemen and horseflesh the county has held a lofty pre-eminence; it is delicious, however, to find how it has now and then paid for this pre-eminence, as for instance in 1206, when considerate John Lackland, being the guest of the county, orders the Sheriff of Yorkshire to purchase at Stamford Fair four good palfreys for the King's use, and take the money from the burgesses of York!

It was an Archbishop of York who apologised to the great men of his diocese for that he was more conversant with hawks and hounds than with mass-books and sermons; and it was precisely those great men of his diocese who bluntly told him in return they should like him all the better for that. It was an Archdeacon of Richmond whose visitations were the interludes of a hunting tour, and whose visits were intolerable by reason of the number of his retainers who had to be

gratuitously supported. There has ever been such a seduction in sylvan life, and especially in the scenes of its opening summer, as has captivated even the imagination of a people not yet wholly removed from a pastoral world. In proof of the ancient charm, I quote an inimitable address of a "May-lord" of the Elizabethan days :—

Rejoice, O English hearts, rejoice; rejoice, O lovers dear;
Rejoice, O town and country; rejoice, eke every shere!
For now the fragrant flowers do spring and sprout in seemly sort,
The little birds do sit and sing, the lambs do make fine sport;
And now the burchin tree doth bud, that makes the schoolboy cry,
The morris rings, while hobby-horse doth foot it featuously;
The lords and ladies now abroad for their disport and play
Do kiss sometimes upon the grass, and sometimes on the hay.
Now butter with a leaf of sage is good to purge the blood,
Fly Venus and phlebotomy, for they are neither good!
Now little fish on tender stone begin to cast their bellies
And sluggish snails that erst were mew'd to creep out of their shellies.
The rumbling river now doth warm for little boys to paddle
The sturdy steed now goes to grass, and up they hang his saddle;
The heavy hart, the bellowing buck, the rascal and the pricket
Are now among the yeoman's pease and leave the fearful thicket;
And be like them, O you, I say, of this same noble town,
And lift aloft your velvet heads, and slipping off your gown,
With bells on legs and napkins clean unto your shoulders tied
With scarfs and garters as you please, and Hey for our town! cried
March out and show your willing minds by twenty and by twenty
To "Burbrig" or to "Knaresbro'" where ale and cakes are plenty.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle.

One of the largest of the remaining Yorkshire woods once belonged to the Archbishop of York—it is still called Bishopwood. One of the choicest of the Royal hunting grounds was the "frithy forest of Galtres," which came down to the very walls of York. In 1200, the Abbot of St. Mary's gave King John a palfrey for having confirmation of the King's charter of the tithe of hunting therein. The forest was protected with a paternal hand. In 1214 the King permitted Master Simon de Langton to impark and assart the wood belonging to his preband of Streneshail; and Philip de Kime to impark his wood of Brinesby (*Cal. Rot. Pal.* 5). In 1284 thv Master of the Hospital of St. Leonard, York, was allowed to impark his wood of Bryningburgh, containing 56 acres, and his contiguous domain in the same wood, containing 100 acres, within the forest of Galtres. In 1294, the King granted his beloved Sergeant John Hayward the office of bailiff of the forest with the lands of Ingoldethwaite and Alwaldecotes, which William Grissel had formerly held by grant of the King.

In 1331, the King granted to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, York, all the hunting of the forest of Spaunton, in Blakhoumore, between the water of Doune and the water called Syvene, for five years, in exchange for the whole tithe of hunting in the forest of Galtres. In the East and North Ridings there were many famous hunting-grounds, and not a little poaching. In 1302, King Edward writes to Richard Oysel

and Ralph de Lellay, appointing his justices to enquire by the oath of good men and true of the county of York, how it was best to arrive at the truth, as to who were the malefactors and disturbers of the peace in the royal warren at Brustwyk, Preston, Kaingham, Little Humber, Burton Pidese, Skipse, Esington, Skiftling, Kilnese, and Wythornse, and who hunted in the King's parks of Brustwyk and Sprotle, in our pools of Brustwyk, and fisheries of Lomworth, Skipse, Burton-Pidse, and Wythornse mere fish-poaching, and who took and bore away hares and rabbits in the warrens, and wild beasts from the parks, and fish from the pools and fisheries, to our heaviest damage. This wide-spread lawless- ness was not to be endured. The judges must do their work, and Richard and Ralph must then look after the redemptions, full power being given to them to do their office. In 1304, John Sutton impleaded several people for hunting hares and other animals in his free warren at Sutton in Holderness.

A LAUND IN THE FOREST OF GALTRES.

In the city of York the King maintained a separate prison "for his forest of Galtres," for keeping which he paid John de Wythornse, in 1352, the munificent sum of 5d. a day—twice the stipend of an average rector—and made him a tenant *in capite* to boot. It was to John de Insula, constable of Knaresborough, that stern Edward Longshanks wrote in 1304, greeting—which by a north country synonym may mean wailing, for Edward was a mighty hunter—"When lately we assigned to you and Milo de Stapleton the constabulary of our Castle of Knaresborough, to enquire who were the malefactors and disturbers of our peace in the parks and chaces of Knaresborough, and without our

license hunted and took wild beasts and bore them away, and to hear and terminate that transgression according to the law and custom of our kingdom, we understand that certain men in the presence of you and the said Milo were convicted of the transgression, and were detained in our prison of the Castle of Knaresborough; we named you to receive their fines or redemptions." And so we learn of another forest prison, possibly we may have a sketch of one of its scenes in 1343:—"The Sheriff of York was ordered to give full seizin to Master Adam de Ottelay of two acres of land and four acres of meadow, with their appurtenances, in Farnley, which belonged to William, son of William del Bretes, who was hanged for felony!" It is not in the nature of men to resist the charms of the chase. The peer is a sportsman, the peasant is a poacher, the keeper is a—?

> Well, if you chance to come by Knaresborough,
> Make but one step into the keeper's lodge,
> And such poor fare as woodmen can afford
> Butter and cheese, cream and fat venison,
> You shall have store, and welcome therewithal.

It is fitting that Yorkshire should be the unchanging home of a race of mighty hunters. It contained the largest chase in England—Hatfield Chase, the hunting ground of King Edwin of Northumbria, covering 170,000 acres; it was twice the size of the New Forest, the mighty effort of the Conqueror. The largest parish in England, Halifax, containing 75,000 acres, and being about the size of the county of Rutland, was a portion of the forest of Hardwicke. On the brows of the hills and the bosoms of our dales the pastoral habits of the Celt still prevail—his very terms of numeration are on the tongue of the shepherds of to-day. The hunting grounds of the early Norman barons may be taken to be but the enclosure and reservation of the spots the Celt himself had dedicated to the chase. But even this reservation does not appear to have been a pure monopoly. We have here and there singular references to the reservation of popular rights. In 1224, the men of Killinghall, Fellisclifte, Birstake, and Gresteinwra, have their common of pasture specially reserved to them by the King in his pastures of Sywerdherges and Heyra, as they were wont to have in King John's time. Half a century later John le Vavasour had his park at Hazelwood, yet he was summoned for monopolising warren in Le Wodehale and elsewhere in his lands in Wheruedale. Francis le Tyeys was summoned for the same offence at Farnelay (Leeds), where he had raised a park. The Templars of Newsam were among the worst of the defaulters. Galfrid Neville had a park at Fasel (Farsley), and warren in all his boundary without the park, which park and warren Ivo de Longevillers had of the grant of King Henry III. Galfrid appropriated for his park without warrant a plot of land without the fee of Farnley and in the fee of Bramley, and got himself into some trouble thereby. He had encroached upon the domains of the Abbot of Kirkstall, who, however, was himself an offender of the first water, as indeed some of his pre-

decessors had been. Many of their possessions lay in Wharfedale, and that the dale was for centuries after the Conquest little better than an expanse of timbered land (*sylva pastura*) we have evidence. How lovely it would be when covered with its leafy garment we may easily and correctly imagine. In 1207, Warin Fitz Gerold gave to the King a ruby of the price of twenty marks, or the sum of twenty marks, as the King may wish, for a right perambulation to be made by twelve lawful knights of the neighbourhood of Langewood, between the wood of the monks of Kirkstall in Berdeseia and Warin's wood in Harewood—

what fairer grove
From Harewood lures her devious love?
What fairer grove than Harewood knows,
More woodland walks, more fragrant gales,
More shadowy bowers, inviting soft repose,
More streams slow wandering thro' her winding vales?

Roger Constable of Chester, the sheriff, is in consequence commanded to have the perambulation made, and acquaint the King by whom, and in the meantime not permit the monks to make any waste of the wood. This dispute seems to have arisen from Warin's rigour as a game preserver. In 1205, he had given the King 200 capons—100 at Easter and 100 at the Feast of St. John Baptist—to have free warren through all his lands; therefore nobody should hunt in them without his leave, on forfeiture of £10 to the King. Warin's recorded actions offer us the career of a man energetic in the settlement of the many irregularities of disjointed times and the operations of greedy persons. In 1199, he recovered the presentation to his church of Harewood against the canons and chaplains of St. Mary and St. Sepulchre, York. This action was revived, and, in 1208, there was an assize as to the advowson which Warin Fitz Gerold and Alice de Curci his wife claimed. The canons came and said that Avice de Rumilly gave that church to St. Mary, St. Michael, and all Angels for the support of the clergy, and they produced the charter of the said Avice, witnessed and confirmed by Archbishop Roger. (*Abb. Plac.* 62.) It was in the same year that the King granted Warin a warren, a fair, and a market at Harewood. These grants were renewed to Richard Redman in 1406. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*)

In the later period some of this old trouble was revived. The abbot was summoned for using free warren in all his domain lands of Collingham, Bardesey, Wyk, Brerehagh, Bramhop, Hedingley, Cugeryt, Adele, West Hedingley, Horsseford, and Bramley. He denied the iniquity of his act with all the stoutness of self complacency. As to the free warren in Hedingley, Cugeryt, Adele, Horsseford, and Bramley, he claimed it by charter 21st Henry III., which gave it to him and his convent for ever; in the domain lands and woods he had it of the gift of William Peytefyn, in Hedingley; of the gift of Roger Mustel and William, his son, in Cugeryt and Adele; of Hugh de Lelay and Nigel de Horsford, in Horsford; of William de Reyneville, in Bramley; which towns, woods, and lands were without the King's forest, therefore

nobody could enter them to hunt bucks (*cervum bissum*), fallow deer (*damum, damam*), hares, foxes, or any other kind of beast without the license of the abbot. This argument prevailed with the King, and in due time sent many of the abbot's tenants to the stocks. It was not every peer, temporal or spiritual, who could thus gain his easy end. In 1255, Hugh le Bigot gave to the King 500 marks for having the forest of Farndale to himself and his heirs, and for being there allowed to hunt with his dogs. The tightening of these forest laws was a continual effort; in the reign of Edward I., it appeared to be so sometimes as a matter of fiscal necessity. In 1276, we find the King giving power to Thomas de Normanville, his seneschal, to sell wood in the King's forest in his bailiwick, up to the sum of £1000 per lota.

Of the incidents of ancient forestry we have a good example in the neighbourhood of Leeds, in the days when Cœur de Lion was crusading in the Holy Land, and Robert Turnham of Bramham was bearing his banner and choosing horses to bring home and mend the native breed. Adam de Beeston of Beeston had a dispute with William Grammary, Lord of Middleton, respecting the boundaries between the manors of Middleton and Beeston. The matter in dispute was really the ownership of the wood at the boundary of the manors. The wood had been adjudged to belong to Beeston, but one day Grammary caught one of the Beeston foresters there, seized him, and carried him to his house in Middleton, where he put him in the stocks as a trespasser, and took from him his cape, a gold ring, and a sword, in felony and robbery (*Abb. Plac.* 66). This act brought about hatred of a bitter kind, and stirred up the course of the law. Grammary had done wrong, and Beeston would not allow the wrong to remain unassailed. In 1200, Grammary offered to the King 100 marks and a palfrey for having an inquisition in an appeal made against him by Adam de Beeston, concerning a breach of the peace through old hatred. Grammary failed to pay the money into the exchequer, and therefore did not obtain his brief. In the next year (1201) Grammary gave to the King £100 for having a "licentia concordandi" with Adam on the appeal which Adam had brought against William and his men. He still appears to have been unpossessed of the money, for he obtained pledges for the payment; and, as a mark of the times and the small money power even of the nobility, it is well to record the names and amount of the pledges:—Robert de Everingham was surety for ten marks; Robert and Mauger le Vavasseur, each for twenty marks; John de Meaus, ten marks; Thomas le Lardiner, ten marks; Robert de Lelay, ten marks; Ralph Mauliverer, ten marks; William, son of Thomas, ten marks; Engeram——, ten marks; and Grammary himself, ten marks. And of the said £100 Adam de Beeston paid 20 marks, for which these are pledges—Richard Malebisse, ten marks, and Samson de Ridelsford, ten marks.

This protracted the matter for some years. In 1207 Adam gave fifteen marks to ascertain if the knights who by their oath made partition between him and William Grammary in the contention about a wood

and bush (*bosco et bosculo*) between Beeston and Middleton, had made the partition according to the distinct boundaries of that cirograph, Adam alleging that they had made other boundaries, and not those they ought to have made according to the tenor of the cirograph. Robert de Turnham, then home from the wars, and presenting to King John "Spanish horses of price," in order that the king would return to him his estate of Bramham, was directed to ascertain whether the boundaries had been made according to the cirograph; and the sheriff was ordered that on the day which Robert named he should cause those knights, or the survivors of them, to come before Robert at the wood, and point out how and by what boundaries they made the partition. Irritated by the tediousness of the suit, this last act resolved the disputants to bring

THE CHACE IN OLDEN TIMES.

the matter to a desperate crisis. They determined to settle their difference by an appeal to arms. A duel was fought between them in 1209, but what were its consequences we do not know, other than that the wood seems to have been ceded to Adam de Beeston.

The magnitude of our great parks in the olden time and their wealth in kind are now perhaps beyond our true appreciation. In 1201, William, son of Hugh de Laelay, gave a mark for having a brief concerning 300 acres of wood in the park of Helagh against Jordan de Sancta Maria and Alice his wife—a mere disputable trifle in the parks of those days. In 1202, when William de Stuteville was constable of Knaresborough, we find 13s. 4d. paid to a driver, who took 105 stags and 24 hides, received from Henry Fitz Hervey, William de Stuteville,

and Wimar Fitz Warin, and taken beyond Trent; so that it appears probable the wealth of the Yorkshire parks had to replenish the scantiness of those of the south. The guardianship of these hunting-grounds—especially the King's forests—was an office of dignity, and of risk and difficulty, in the days of the Norman and Plantagenet kings. All the elements of fraud, violence, and discord were introduced by the arbitrary licenses of the King, well exemplified in the grant, in 1204, to Robert de Braybroc of leave to hunt in all the King's forests (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 2). How confusion was apt to arise out of such indiscriminate grants, we have frequently recorded. In 1200, Alan de Thorinton (Thornton-le-Moors), the forester, gave the King 100 marks for having his goodwill, the King being angry with him because the forest was ill kept. Mercenary John Lackland closed with the negligent official, but only after he had found ample pledges that the money should be well and duly paid; and in order to show the sort of company kept by the forester, I will give the list:—William de Angodebi, ten marks; Roger Brown, ten marks; Gilbert, brother of Alan de Thorinton, twenty marks; Jollan de Brimingeston, four marks; the Abbot of Witeby, twenty marks; Albert, the clerk of Scardeburgh, ten marks; Gervas de Preston, five marks; William Buissell, two marks; William Fitz Ralph, five marks; Thomas de Sedzevalle, two marks; Richard Cook, of Scardeburgh, two marks; Edmund de Brimingeston, three marks; Thomas de Pikering, one mark; Thomas, son of Odo de Pickering, one mark; and Walter de Bovington, five marks. Affairs appear to have improved after this, for within the next dozen years we find King John stopping at Knaresborough several times with his sporting official, Brian de Insula. The sport pursued by our ancestors now and again becomes visible in their concessions. It was often limited to particular animals. In 1339, Edward III. grants to Thomas de Gra, of York, that he and his heirs in fee may hunt the hare, fox, and vermin in the forest of Galtres, and that they may include with a little ditch and a low pale his land of Cockburne in the same forest. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 135).

As may be expected, many of the rustic troubles of our forefathers arose from their poaching habits, especially when so large a quantity of land was preserved for hunting grounds. The more reputable avoided trouble by obtaining a King's license, as, for instance, Roger Huardy, a burgess of Scardeburgh, who, in 1252, obtained a hunting license in the forest of Pickering. In 1254, a similar license was given to Hugh le Bigod, in the county of York. And in 1255 to Robert de Neville of Raby for the County. The best of these licences is that granted, in 1269, to Richard Middleton, clerk, to hunt in the northern forests. He was the King's Chancellor, and died on the Sunday nearest after the feast of St. Lawrance, 1272. All grades of society were involved in these troubles. In 1277, Robert de Bailliol made a fine with the King of 100s. for transgression in vert and venison which he had made in the King's forest. Roger le Straunge at Galleghaye, Henry de Percy at Spofforth, and the Abbot

of Fountains at Thorpe, had monopolised free warren for the last fifty years past. And from claiming warren, the defaulters proceeded to withhold their feudal dues. The Templars of Ribston, seven years ago, had withdrawn the domain services of a toft in Colthorpe which was taxed. In like manner the Prioress of Ardington, six years ago, withdrew the same service of a bovate of land in North Ditton. In 1334, the Sheriff of York is warned that the palings, ditches, and hedges in the King's parks within the honor of Knaresborough are in several places broken, and that the mares and foals of the King's stud are the less able to be kept in custody than they should be to the profit of the herbage; he is ordered to have them mended.

In 1339, the King appointed Thomas de Metham and others the King's justices to inquire who were the malefactors and disturbers of the King's peace in the parks of Southwell and Scrooby, temporalities of the Archbishop of York, the see being vacant. In the wilder regions of Heywra a "fortalice" had to be erected, the keeping of which was given in 1343 to Roger de Normanville to hold during the King's pleasure, giving for the office ten marks—a sure proof that fines would be forthcoming. Roger's term was not of very long duration, for in 1350 the King gives the office to his valet, Master John de Barton—a clerk evidently!—taking for it the same sum of ten marks per annum. The preservation of the park of Heywra (misprinted Hanora) was a matter which concerned our great Edward Longshanks, for we find the old warrior granting a patent to that effect at Burgh-upon-Sands in 1307, when he was entering upon the last campaign of his life (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 67). In 1363, William Gascoigne and Richard his son gave two marks for pardon of the trespass done by them in acquiring custody of the park, wood, and warren of the manor of Harewood; he also gave 20s. for pardon for acquiring a tenement in Harewood without leave. These things occurred at a change of manorial tenancy; but the little irregularity may possibly point out some facts in the boyhood of our most celebrated Chief Justice Gascoigne, and lead up to his burial in Harewood Church. In the same year Robert de Insula, of Rugemont, gave £70 for leave to enfeof Sir William de Aldeburgh and Elizabeth his wife of two parts of the manor of Harewood.

I will cite a few instances, mostly from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, which illustrate in many phases the changes taking place in the surface of the country. In 1314, Thomas de Tolthorpe may include and attach a *placea* called Westwode and Wolcotewra, containing 24 acres within the forest of Galtres. John de Thorneton, of Sowerby, may attach and inclose a certain place of brushwood and waste, called Le Lounde-in-Sutton in Galtres, and within the bounds of the forest. John Marmyon may crenellate his manor called L'Ermitage in his wood of Tanfield (p. 78). In 1315, Walter de Bedewynde, Treasurer of York, may attach and inclose 40 acres of waste for his own proper use in his manor of Alne and Tollerton, within the metes of the forest of Galtres, in the place called Foxholme—a not very reputable transac-

tion. Robert Dammory was appointed supervisor and superior warden of the chases of Langstrode, Littondale, Topclive, and Spofford, and the parks of Topclive and Spofford which had belonged to Henry de Percy (p. 79). In 1346, the King granted to Adam de Walton, in fee, a place of waste called Le Westmosse in the forest of Galtres, containing 120 acres by the perch of the forest* together with common there, by the service of bearing the King's bow when he happens to hunt in that forest; and he may inclose it with a small dyke and a low fence (p. 154).

Some 6f these instances may be taken to represent the development of agriculture; we have others not quite so permissible. In 1365, the Prior of Giseburne may impark his wood of Clive and 80 acres of land adjoining in the same wood (*Rot. Pat.* 180). In 1373, Thomas Eaton may impark 1,000 acres of land and wood at Gillinge in Rydale (p. 191). In 1376, William de Nesfield holds in fee the custody of the free chase and warren of Kirkby Malasarte, and Nyderdale (p. 193). In 1379, Richard Lescrop, the King's chancellor, may crenellate his manor of Bolton in Wenselowdale, or the *placea* within the same manor. This is a glimpse of the mansion which existed before the castle. The Abbot of Bilande may impark 100 acres of land and pasture in his domain (p. 202). In 1381, John Neville of Raby, may crenellate and make a castle at Sheriffhoton. In 1382, the King granted to Thomas Fairfax, *armiger*, the seneschalship of his forest of Galtres, and warren in the lands of Ingolthwaite for his life, with stated fees. In 1383, Alexander, Archbishop of York, may fortify and otherwise strengthen (*et fort aliquid facere*) his manor of Reste. In the same year Thomas de Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, for his lifetime may hunt, hawk, and fish in any of the King's chases in England, Wales, and Ireland (pp. 206, 8, 9). In strange contrast with all this, in 1399, we have the formal setting-free—"manumissio"—of William de Burton, citizen of York, a villain of the Archbishop's.

In 1417, when the country was troubled with Lollardism and unsettled, determined attempts were made to break the parks and largely curtail the monopoly of chase. We are told in the *Rolls of Parliament* that in divers parts of the realm great multitudes of evil people assembled in an insurrectionary manner, armed and arrayed for war, and with great force and violence broke open the parks and hunted in the forests, chases, and parks of the great lords, destroyed their "savagines," and grievously beat and ill-treated their foresters, parkers, and other servants, some of whom they slew. This piece of wanton law-breaking was for a cover attributed to Lollardism—to those "who were of opinion of the Lollards, traitors and rebels, whose object was to subvert the Catholic faith." The pretext answered the purpose of turn-

*As one datum in the ancient measure of land I find that in 1300 the length of a King's perch in the town of Wartre, co, York, contained 18 feet of a man. *Abb. Plac.*, 243.

ing upon the offenders the severest penalties of the law. Two years afterwards it was decreed that all artificers, labourers, servants, and grooms, having greyhounds and other dogs, and who on feast-days, when good Christians were at church hearing divine service, congregate to hunt in parks, warrens, and coney-grounds, to the great destruction of these grounds, and to the furtherance under colour of their assemblies of enterparlances, conspiracies, and breaches of allegiance, should be stopped of those practices by being deprived of their dogs. No manner of artificer, labourer, or any other layman, who had not lands and tenements of the value of 40s. per annum, and no priest or clerk not beneficially advanced to £10 per annum, should keep a greyhound or other hunting dog, nor use ferrets, hairs, retes, harepipes, cords, or other engines to destroy savagynes, hares, or coneys, upon pain of imprisonment for a year.

These abuses probably did not refer to the time-honoured enclosures, but to the later parks, most of which were monopolies of the reign of Edward III., and often regranted by tenures which would greatly favour invasions; for instance, in 1370, the King granted to Peter de Routh all the agistments of the parks of Haywra and Bilton, within the forest of Knaresborough, to hold during the King's pleasure, returning thence to the King £28 per annum. Such grants would necessarily open the parks to a very large number of intruders. When proud Mary of Middleham claimed free warren in her lands in Wensleydale, she had no park; we have seen some of the troubles her family and neighbours met in 1246; she might hunt over the broad chase, but she must not enclose. That monopoly had to be taken by her son, and it was only obtained by stealthy steps. In 1331, the King grants to Ralf de Neville, free warren in all his demesne lands in Middleham; three years later he had license of enclosing and imparking his woods of Sheriff-Hutton and Middleham, and also of making there a deer-leap for the game. In a few years his castle of Middleham was literally surrounded with parks. Yet Ralph was a pious man; in 1363, he gave to the King £15 for leave to assign in mortmain a tenement in Snape to the master or warden and to the brethren and sisters of the chantry or hospital of Welle, near Bedale, founded by himself. How the forest laws were made to serve private purposes, we have another instance in 1474, when the King granted to Sir William Plumpton, Kt., that he may embattle and make towers within his manor of Plumpton, and impark all his hereditaments and free chase in the same and have them, although they may be within the wastes of the forest or chase of Knaresborough. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 318).

THE PARKS OF WAKEFIELD.

MERRIE WAKEFIELD is so thoroughly associated with the sylvan stories of Old England and our roystering outlaws, that the fame of the place will never die until the memory of bold Robin Hood and his foresters good shall have faded from the minds of men; and when that will be we do not care to enquire. But, beyond its hilarious reputation, Wakefield has some doleful memories, as witness the boasts and exploits of its rapacious pinder of ancient ballad and song; and its constables and graves in the era of manorial records and appreciable fact. Situated at what we may call the head of Barnsdale, the classic ground of the wood rovers, Wakefield was the head-quarters of their plots, and, sharing the fame with Nottinghamshire, at the southern extremity of the forest of Sherwood, it was the place of their dread and punishment. Wakefield was then the domain of Earls Warren, game preservers the like of whom are rare both in ancient and modern history. They provided the gaol at Wakefield, and taught their officers to make it a most uncomfortable residence. It is true they had a large and very wild district to keep in order—their sway extended over thirty miles of land, including some of the most rugged parts of Yorkshire; but it is equally true that they did not scruple to use such means as would keep the wildest of districts in order, if they did not drive them into distraction and revolt. They hung women for felony, and gibbetted men for poaching; and then their officials stole the criminals' goods.

Themselves most impatient of control, they were most exacting of obedience. Their character is written both in the history and ballads of our country, with a pen that does not move with the stroke of benevolent memory, of kindness and good-will. For our present purpose we need not pursue them into their regal state under the Norman rule; we will start with them in the days of their kinsmen the Plantagenets. Old Earl William, the King's Justice, who made much money by trafficking in other people's estates while in the King's hands by reason of minorities, had a daughter whom King John found both fair and frail, and a son, some of whose caprices have already been described. Without any warrant, in or about 1256, he had erected gallows at Coningsburc, and usurped the assize of bread and beer, pleas of blood-spilling, &c. He and his father had imparked the wood called Allenker, in Tykehill wapentake; the enclosure was five miles round. He was then building the castle of Sandal—or more properly speaking perhaps converting the old manor-house into a castle by additions and alterations—and his men, Roger de Aula and Robert de Schinthorp, in 1270, began to exact toll from the merchants leading timber there, an innovation "quod nunquam prius fuit"—hitherto unknown before their day. In the worthy Roger de Aula—Roger at the hall—we have most likely one of the Earl's personal servants; a man evidently who had studied his master's character, and copied the strong points thereof. Alexander, the cook of Sandale, who was probably another servant, appropriated a part of the wood of Sandale.

The Earl appropriated free chase and warren in Henclesmore, a portion of Hatfield chase, and in the forest of Hardwick, a moiety of the wood of Sothill, all the wood of Dewesbir, and all the boundaries of Halifax, Shirekotes, Ovenden, Haldeworth, Saltenstal, Rutenstal, Stanesfield, and Langefield, without warrant. And the Earl upheld the injury, and particularly of the wood of Dewesbir, for which they of the neighbouring fee are amerced for evasion at the will of the Earl's Seneschal. Richard de Heydon, formerly Seneschal, and Thomas le Ragged, formerly chief forester of the Earl, after the battle of Evesham, appropriated to themselves free chase within the boundaries of Sotehill, Hipperum, Northoverum, Schipeden, Nortland, and Riseworth, without any warrant. In the same days of confusion the Seneschal extorted market-toll in the liberty of Sourbyschire, even when there was no market; and they yet stand at the entrance of the market and collect the tolls called Dortol and Huctol, and if they are denied they amerce the refractory (*Rot. Hund*).

When these enormities, and others similar committed by other nobles entirely throughout the kingdom, were reported to the King, Edward I., he determined to put a stop to them. His action in the matter is the first decisive proof of the power of the people having risen sufficiently to cause their injuries to be accepted from their own mouths. The King sent the Justices throughout England to examine into the complaints and redress the wrongs. The action of Earl Warren before the Justices is a key to the whole mischief, as it is also an evidence that the baronial power was still an unchecked factor in the furtherance of class privileges. The Earl was called to account for appropriating the lands, his title to which was called for. When the commissioners presented themselves and required to see the titles, the Earl threw upon the table a rusty sword, saying, "This is the instrument by which I hold my lands, and by it I mean to defend them! Our ancestors who came to this realm with William the Bastard, obtained their possessions by their good swords. The Conquest was not made by him alone, nor for himself solely; our fathers bore their part and were participants with him." Such language was not to be mistaken, and Edward found it prudent for a time to leave the great barons alone, confining himself to the seizure of a few estates from men whose weakness, or whose known character, offered less likelihood of resistance.

I have alluded to the carrying of building-timber (*maeremium*) to Sandal in 1270, and to the erection of some baronial residence then proceeding there. This is entirely inconsistent with the received statement that Sandal Castle was built about 1320; but that statement cannot be correct. Sandal, from the earliest times, has always been a defended position. Its name indicates that it was a Saxon *hal*, or guard-house. "Enough yet remains about the scanty ruins of the Castle to shew that the central mound was crowned by a shell keep, and that there were external ditches and ramparts. The position commands the Calder valley and the surrounding country; and the earthworks are

probably those of a stronghold, British or Saxon, far more ancient than the Castle." Earl John, who had married Joan, Countess of Bar, was proceeded against for a divorce in 1314. In 1315 he released and quit-claimed his castles of Sandal and Conyngesburg, and the towns of Wakefield, Heytefeld, Thorne, Sowreby, Braythewelle, Fishelake, Dewesbury, and Halifax, to the King. The castle must then, of course, have been in existence, and that fact disposes of the above statement. According to Dr. Whitaker, whose error must be corrected, Sandal Castle was built by this John, the last Earl, as a secure retreat for Alice de Laci, the profligate wife of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, after her elopement, which is generally admitted to have taken place in 1317; but Mr. T. Taylor, coroner, showed a grant from the Earl to John of Gargrave, given at Sandal, and dated 24th September, 1313, or four years before the elopement took place. Between the years 1315, when Earl Warren fell into disgrace, and 1322, when Thomas of Lancaster was executed, the Castle of Sandal was in Lancaster's possession. It was placed in the wardenship of William de la Beche after the fatal event. A further change took place next year, 1323, when the King committed to Richard de Mosele the custody of the Castles of Conyngesburgh and Sandale, the Manor of Wakefield, and all the other Manors which had belonged to John de Warren Earl of Surrey. Mosele remained in possession until 1325, when the King regranted the Castles of Conyngesburg and Sandale, and the Manors of Wakefield, Sowresby, Braichewell, Fishelake, Dewesbury, and Halifax, to the Earl for the term of his life. In 1331 the King gave the Earl leave to improve himself to the value of £200 a year out of the wastes of his Castles and Manors of Conyngesburg, Sandhale, Haitfield, Wakefield, Thorn, and Sowrebishyre by demising to such of his tenants as are willing to receive it, holding for himself and his heirs in fee tail for a certain rent. The King at the same time granted to William de Skargil 64 acres of waste in these Manors at a rent of 34/-; and to Master Ralf de Conyngesburg, clerk, 120 acres at a rent of 40/- (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*).

These transactions introduce us to the establishment of the two parks of Wakefield, the Old Park and the New Park. It is a matter of conjecture when the Old Park was first enclosed. It may be attributed to the reign of Henry III., the fertile period of baronial usurpation, and may be considered contemporary with the erection of Sandal Castle. In 1304 the Escheator is ordered that, as well in woods as in parks which belonged to John de Warren, formerly Earl of Surrey, who died that year, and by reason of the minor age of John, grandson and heir of the said Earl, being in the King's hands; of the underwood and of the sound but leafless oaks he should fell and sell to the sum of £200, and answer to the King for the money. In 1309, the King granted to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, the castle and honour of High Peak to hold at rent for the whole of his life, returning thence 437½ marks. He then calls him "delictus nepos." In 1312 these grants were revoked, and in 1316 the Earl obtains a re-grant of the manor of Wakefield, but not the

castles, although he has granted to him for life the castle of Reygate, where he took Alice de Laci, the castle of Lewes, and divers other manors and castles, remainder to John de Warren, his illegitimate son by Maud de Neirford, in special tail to his heirs male, and the remainder to Thomas de Warren, another son of the said Maud. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 81.)

The New Park appears to have been an erection consequent upon the King's license of 1331, which produced much inclosure. There was a general improvement of the neighbourhood in 1330, the town of Wakefield began to smarten up a little; it obtained then a charter of *Pavagium*, which enabled it to pave its streets. It had paid some little attention to ecclesiastical affairs a few years previously. In 1322, it obtained patents for the chantries of All Saints and Our Lady of Wakefield, the latter of which we perhaps recognise in the patent of 1396 granted for the chantry of our Lady upon the bridge of the town of Wakefield (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 232). In 1333, the King confirmed to John de Gargrave in fee a toft in Wakefield for a rent of 5s. yearly; and also in general tail a bovate of land in the graveship (*præpositura*) of Thornes, in the place called "Beskrode," and 28 acres and one rood called "Rodlande," in the same graveship, for a rent of 13s. 5d.; and to the same John, to Ellen his wife, and to William their son, and to William his son in general tail, a separate place called Le Hallerode containing 30 acres of arable land and pasture and six acres of meadow in Horbury, together with common of pasture, &c., for a rent of 6s. 8d., those being the premises granted to them by John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and held of the King in capite. In the next year we find trouble; there is a suit between the Abbot of Selby and John, Earl of Warren, and others, his tenants of the manors of Wakefield and Thorne, for 800 acres of land in Estoffe. In 1336, the King granted to William Cussying, of Wakefield, and his heirs, 3 messuages, 40 acres and the moiety of one bovate and one rood of land, 1½ acres of meadow, and three places of waste in Wakefield and Stanley, which John de Warren granted at a yearly rent of 13s. 5d. This, in the same year, is followed by a grant to Simon de Balderstone of a place of land, containing 120 acres in the New Park of Wakefield called "Strethagh," which Earl John granted to Simon and his heirs, at a yearly rental of 40s., and if Simon shall die without heirs, then after his death the said place shall remain to William de Skargil and his heirs for ever. The King also granted the concession which Earl John made to William de Langefeld, of lands and wastes of Withins, Tourleymosse and Mankanholes, without the Earl's park of Herikdene, between Mankanholegge on his part and Southstrindebroc on the other, of the wastes of the Earl in Sourebishire. In 1339, the King confirmed to William de Scargill, the grant which Earl John made to him of two messuages, 1½ acres of land, and a place called Le Haye, containing 15 acres of land and all the waste lying between the Earl's Old Park at Wakefield and the river Keldre, containing 68 acres, together with a place between Hedlaysyk

and Gepfeld towards Wodekirke, containing 60 acres of land of the waste in Wakefield, to hold these tenements for a rent of 49s. While all this enclosing was going on in the neighbourhood of the town, the great old hunting range of the Outwood was being invaded. In 1345, Earl John granted to Thomas de Methelay of Thornhill, his tenant, common of pasture in his Outwood for 60 great beasts and 100 sheep, for all seasons of the year as the other tenants have, rendering 6d.

As recipients of the royal favour we find the rising family of Savile gaining wealth from Woodcraft and the parks of Wakefield. On the 24th September, 1485, the King grants to John Sayvile, kt., the offices of Steward and Master Forester of the lordship or manor of Wakefield and Sourbishire; of constable of the Castle of Sandal for life; of bailiff of the town and lordship of Wakefield during pleasure; of keeper of the park of Sandal and of the woods of Thurston, Hawe; Outewode of Wakefield for life; also grant of an annuity of five marks out of the issues of the manor or lordship of Wakefield. On the next day James of Whalley is granted the office of parker of the New park of Wakefield, with the keeping of the outwoods there; Rauf Whalley having at the same time the office of keeper of the Old park.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

THE PARK OF WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE, AND WHARNCLIFFE CHASE.

ONE of the most extensive, and assuredly one of the most romantically beautiful, of the Parks of Yorkshire is that of Wentworth Woodhouse, the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam. Its reputation as a magnificent domain has been established for now nearly two centuries. "It is thought by the greatest virtuosos," said a quaint antiquary more than one hundred and fifty years ago, "that Wentworth Woodhouse is the finest seat in Yorkshire, and would take a volume to describe its beauties." It is seated in a country which, up to the present century, retained all the best features of the olden scenery, and which still retains all the best traditions of the field sports of Old England. Incidents of its wood-craft underlie the whole of its recorded history; it has ever been a portion of a most favoured hunting ground. In 1200 Roger de Somerville, a knight of the Laci fee, gave to the King 15 marks for having the hunting of the fox and hare in Nottinghamshire—the border often intervened between him and his sport. Roger did not long enjoy his extended privilege, for in the same year Matilda, his widow, offers to the King ten marks and one palfrey not to be constrained to marry, since she holds nothing of the King, or of the Earl of Chester, who has given her to William de Chacumb. Its emergence from the forest primeval is occasionally shown in the national records, as, for instance, in 1272, when Roger, son of Thomas, was attached to answer to Robert

Wyskarderode, why he took the cattle of Robert in the free common pasture of Robert de Wambewellewode. (*Abb. Plac.* 187.)

In the olden times the Earls Warren were the mighty potentates of South Yorkshire. John, Earl Warren, son of Earl William, who was one of the chief agents in obtaining Magna Charta, died in 1242, when the King granted to Matilda, his Countess, the custody of all his lands, except the manors of Wakefield and Conisburgh, "the waters of Brademare, and a certain chamber (*camera*) in Thorne," which was a prison erected for the confinement of poachers; all these were retained in the King's hands until the majority of his son and heir. A period of easy rule succeeded, the Countess having the rearing of the boy upon her hands, for which she had given the King a sum of £542 yearly. In 1247 the King remitted of that item £200 a year, to be expended on the sustentation of the young Earl until his majority. This was a very ample allowance for the noble prodigal, for it exceeded £4,000 of present money. The Countess died in 1248, and henceforth her wayward son is in trouble greater or less. Though "the last person in England who held out in favour of the King," the Earl was eventually compelled to join the Barons under De Montfort, in their rebellion against the throne. He took a most active and prominent part in the Barons' War, and he was not unknown in the annals of personal violence. In 1269 the King granted a pardon to John, Earl Warren and Surrey, because he struck Alan la Zouche and Roger, the King's son, in Westminster Hall; he also granted the Earl a safe-conduct for him coming to court. The quarrel had been one of no slight import, for in 1272 Earl John gave the King 10,000 marks for a fine for certain contentions between him and Alan. In the satirical ballad of *Richard of Almaigne*, we find him thus spoken of:—

> By God that is above ous, he dude muche synne,
> That let passen over see the Erl of Warynne:
> He hath robbed Englelond, the mores ant the fenne,
> The gold ant the selver, and y-boren henne;

and it would seem that the allusion to his robbery of "the mores ant the fenne" refers to his doings upon Hatfield Chase, the Wakefield Commons, and other of his estates as a game preserver and a destroyer of the common rights of the people. South Yorkshire was sadly afflicted with these feudal autocrats, of whom the Earl was the chief. We may read much of their usurpations. In 1280 Thomas de Furnival was summoned to shew by what warrant he claimed to have free warren at Sheffeud; why he should not allow the King's bailiffs to enter his lands of Hallamshire to exercise their office; and why he had withdrawn the homage and service of his barony of Hallamshire, and similarly why he had strengthened and crenellated his castle at Sheffeud, and had appropriated free warren, gallows and tumbrel there. In 1300. Idonea de Leyburne had likewise to account for using free warren in Bautre. Cymberworth, Ostrefield, gallows, infangtheof, utfangtheof, market, fair, and toll in Bautre, and park at Kymberworth. In reply, the fair potentate stated

that Robert de Vetripont, her father, the grandfather of Robert de Clifford, son of Isabel de Clifford, whose heirs they were, died seized of these liberties; and this she held to be enough. Of a proud stock and powerful was this dame Idonea. In 1264 we find that Roger de Clifford, with a knight and three squires, and Roger de Leyburne, with all the force he can raise are ordered to attend upon the King. This is in the day of civil war; the reward of their loyalty is afterwards given to their children. In 1267, there was a contention between these two Rogers as to the castles and manors of Isabella, the eldest, and Idonea the youngest daughters and heirs of Robert de Vetriponte, to whom they had been committed. In 1281, there is a patent concerning the perambulation made upon the honor of Steinmore, between John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond, and Roger de Clifford, and Isabel, his wife, and Roger de Leyburne, and Idonea, his wife (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*).

It is surprising to us, in these less arbitrary days, how much power was granted to or usurped by the territorial magnates. Gallows were very liberally scattered over the land; he need not be one of the great barons to have the right to hang his fellow-men; and he certainly was not regarded as a monster who exercised that right practically at the bidding of his own will. Richard de Heyden, for a long time the Earl's seneschal, was a scoundrel of the most detestable proclivities; unfortunately, however, he was but a type of his class. There is a long catalogue of his crimes recorded in the *Hundred Rolls* of the year 1276. One of the salient ones shall be here revived to illustrate the usages of the period. Heydon, Henry de Normanton the sub-sheriff, John de Keyworth, and Robert de Riperiis—who was doubtless known to his fellow-men as Robert Banks—seneschals of Alice de Laci, all took bribes for doing their office, and also for allowing the escape of thieves. Heydon ordered William de Coneshal, Alan, son of Capel, and several others, to go to the Grange of the Abbot of Roche at Armthorpe, beyond the liberty of the Earl, and arrest brother Richard the granger and John the forester, because John had shot with an arrow a wild doe (*feram*) in the Abbots' wood, and had followed it into the Earl's warren—an enormity which the zealous seneschal of a stout game-preserver could not allow to pass unpunished. He imprisoned Richard and John at Coningesburc, and detained them until the Abbot came there, who paid for the release of brother Richard £40; but John was detained in prison for a whole year. Heydon also imprisoned Beatrice, wife of Gill'e, the tailor of Roderam at Wakefield, for a whole year, and how she was set at liberty they do not know, but Richard inflicted upon her devilish wrongs—*diabolicas oppressiones et innumerabiles!*

In his comrade Normanton the sub-sheriff, Haydon found a worthy colleague; in the pair of them the south of Yorkshire found agents of the most atrocious infamy. Manslaughter thay readily concealed for sums varying only according to the culprit's ability to pay. Things "unnumbered in their villany" are told of him in every wapentake. On one occasion he took John de Shires, whom he caused to be indicted

for manslaughter, and imprisoned him until he had paid a fine of five marks. He also took a horse of the value of 40/-, which belonged to a thief who had been gibbetted at Rodram, and he held it. And as he was, so were the minor officials. Nigel Drury, constable of the castle of Conesburg, took in the town of Rotherham six stone of wool from a "kist," which belonged to a woman hanged at Conesburg, and he took the wool away against the prohibition of the bailiff of that town. Galfrid de Sandiacre, constable of Tykehull, accepted from Roger Presteman of Tyneslawe, a thief, one mark, and from Henry Skayf, another thief, half a mark to permit them to escape. John de Rafnesfeld, Sergeant of the Earl Warren, received from William de Stayneland 20/-, due to the King, and he has not acquitted himself of it. He took from John, son of Elias de Stansfeld, half a mark of the King's debt, then another half mark, then 6/6; and similarly half a mark from John de Haldesworth, and he has not acquitted himself of these sums.

But these are the repulsive things of the ancient days of the chase and its neighbourhood; in praise of its sylvan splendour the pen has never wearied. Anna Seward, the poetess, thus writes of it in October, 1796:—"You know how rich is the prospect upon the confines of Yorkshire. Landscape is always exquisite in the tracks which intervene betwixt the barren grandeur of a mountainous country and the rankly lavish vegetation of a flat one. It acquires a sufficient portion of the latter before it has lost the majesty of the former. Our harvest, exuberant beyond what I had ever seen, was in its ripe glory. The dark woods on the yet mountainous hills waved over vast fields whose yellow and bearded ears, undulating to the gales, seemed like lakes of fluid amber; and over the green sloping uplands the corn sown in stripes gave me the idea of gold lace on the border and up the seams of a birth-night beau in the olden time, ere fashion had spurned that splendid distinction." A happy simile which presented itself to that poetic imagination! Over the gilded earth-embroidery there waved the undying charm of the "greenwood tree," and the result of the blend was a scene of prosperity and freedom.

Regarded as an enclosure for deer, the park is comparatively modern. On the 25th May, 1633, we find that King James "is well, and this afternoon is rid abroad to see the Lord President's new park"—the Lord President being Sir Thomas Wentworth, and the entry, perhaps, having some reference to Wentworth Woodhouse. Of the picturesquely broken and beautifully wooded, the surface is superb. Yet such are the unaccountable divergencies of taste that even a magnificent deer park is not always pleasing, as witness the opinion of Prince Puckler-Muskau, who, when he visited Wentworth some sixty years ago, thought that the park was "melancholy and monotonous." The "immense tracts of grass," he declared, "with a few scattered trees, and the tame, sheep-like deer grazing upon them, in time become intolerable." And so, for his dull vision there was no scenic charm in one of nature's master-pieces. He never can have known either the

aspiration felt or satisfaction enjoyed by the old foresters among the tangled brakes—

> And neere to them our Thicks, the wild and frightful heards,
> Not hearing other noyse but this of chattering birds,
> Feed fairly on the launds, both sorts of seasoned deere;
> Here walk the stately red, the freckled fallow there.
> The bucks and lusty stags amongst the rascalls strewed;
> As sometimes gallant spirits amongst the multitude.
> Of all the beasts which we for our venereall name,
> The hart amongst the rest, the hunter's noblest game.

The wild, rugged beauty of Wharncliffe, with its thick covering of wood, is still remindful of what nearly all Southern Yorkshire must have been while yet the Normans reeved at home, while yet Wortley and the famous chase of Wharncliffe were the home of Anglo-Saxon freedom and before the Wortleys had risen up to be a race of mighty hunters, although their efforts in that direction have had a comparatively early beginning. The first notice we have of them as Nimrods is in 1292, when Nicholas, son of Nicholas de Wortley, is summoned before the King's Justices to show by what warrant he has free chase in all his domain lands of Wortley and Herdewyk. His answer to the summons—to him, no doubt, an intolerable impertinence—is very conclusive. The right was granted in 1241 to Nicholas, son of Nicholas, father of him, the said Nicholas, by the King's charter, which gave him free warren in all his lands not within the boundaries of the King's forest, and so his plea was allowed on the production of that charter. The boundaries of the forest, royal or baronial, were then very apt to encroach upon the public rights. In 1260 Alan de Storth, in Stainburgh, and Adam Unttyer (Hunter), in Wrteley, obstructed the King's highway at Stainburgh, for the length of one mile, and in breadth ten feet. Another instance of the rectification of matters interfering with their territorial conveniences occurs in 1302, when William de Wyntteworthewodehus made a fine of 6s. 8d. for leave to include a certain public highway touching the north part of his mansion, so in the place of it he shall make, at his own cost, another highway sufficiently large and convenient. We have a glimpse of the intervening condition of things in 1363, when the King granted Robert de Morton and Richard de Clifford leave to cut down and sell the underwood in his park of Beskewood, in the King's forest of Shirewode, in the place called "Les Heseles," which extends from the gate called "La Rasgate," up to the gate called Calverton gate, and to repair the palings of the said park with the money so derived.

The most celebrated of the Wortleys was Sir Thomas, "a knight for the King's body" of Henry VII., a favourite, a recipient of estates under attainter, and a man who made some small noise in his day and generation. Among other notable things, Sir Thomas and Joan his wife, widow of Sir John Pylkington, Knight, obtained a pardon in 1486 for all offences committed by them before that date, and from all the penalties attending thereto. A wholesome precaution this, Sir Thomas!

You had been sheriff of the County of Stafford, and it was well known both to yourself and to the King that your accounts were not rigidly balanced up! In the neighbourhood of the old hunting lodge in the midst of Wharncliffe Chase is the famous legend which Sir Thomas inscribed in 1510, to the effect that he built the lodge "that he might hear the hart bell in the midst of Wharncliffe." When Lady Mary Wortley Montague visited Wharncliffe Lodge, she described the chase as "a wild rural spot, which yet I must own I thought not disagreeable." Distance, however, in her case seems to have lent enchantment to the view, for many years afterwards, describing the prospect she saw from the window of her house at Avignon, she said it was the finest land view she had ever seen except that from the old English hunting lodge.

Wharncliffe Chase, indeed, is very nearly the most romantic spot in England. Amid that bluff stretch of heather and boulder, surrounded by a solitude which is almost oppressive, linger many wild and weird traditions of earlier days. There is that creepy story of the great burial place which the old men say lies beneath the heather. There are tales of love-lorn maidens, as of Barbara Wentworth, "daughter of Roger Wentworth, of Athewick in the street, esquire," a tender maiden, who by "her parents' perswasions, when a child, was married to a young gentleman called Anthony Norman, which marriage was set aside for the advantage of lucer upon the addresses of Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, who made no scruple to break the engagment to obtain her, and married her at Athewick Church, 15th January, 1540." There are tales of wrong and death, such as that of Sir Thomas Wortley having destroyed the town which stood at the top of Wharncliffe, that his beloved deer might have no human disturbers in their domain. This may be the act alluded to in the ballad of "The Dragon of Wantley"—

All sorts of cattle this dragon did eat,
  Some day he ate up trees;
And that the forests sure he would
  Devour up by degrees;

For houses and churches were to him geese and turkeys,
  He ate all and left none behind
But some stones, dear Jack, that he could not crack,
  Which on the hill you'll find.

Wharncliffe legends are eerie to listen to on a winter's night, particularly if they wind up with the gruesome tradition of Sir Thomas, the great Wortley Nimrod, being seized with madness in his old age, and dying bellowing like his own deer. Few, indeed, are the districts which are so rich in weird remembrance as Wharncliffe Chase, and fewer those which can claim so loud a voice in the pastorals of the merry days of old. A description of the simple enjoyments of those times is very pleasing:—

At Ewle we wonten gambole, daunce, to carroll, and to singe,
To have gud spicéd sewe and roste, and plum-pies for a king:
At Fast's-eve pan-puffes, gang-tide gaites did alie masses bring.
At Paske began our morrise, and at Pentecost our May.
Tho' Roben Hood, John, friar Tucke, and Marian deftly play,

And lard and ladie gang till kirke with lads and lasses gay;
Fra masse and e'ensong sa gud chere, and glee on every greene,
And save our wakes 'twixt eames and sibbes, like gam was never seen.
At baptis-day, with ale and cakes, bout bon-fires neighbours stood;
At Martelmasse wa turned a crabbe, thilke told of Roben Hood.
Till after longtime myrke, when blessed were windows, dares and lights,
And pails were filled and hathes were swept, 'gainst fairie elves and sprites.

But the sprites and the ghosts have gone with the grey gosshawks and the fair ladies who "sate in their bowers, down by the greenwood side"—leaving behind them only a somewhat prosy view of modern existence. And with them, too, have vanished the great herds of "the antlered monarchs of the glen." What the number of deer may have been at Wharncliffe in its palmy days cannot with certainty be said; at present, there are usually about two hundred within the confines of the park. The best features of the olden time were not, however, abolished with the mass and Morris-dance. The famous hospitality of yore was quite surpassed on the following occasion:—

THE COMING OF AGE OF LORD ROCKINGHAM.

On Monday, 13th May, 1751, was celebrated at Wentworth Woodhouse the birthday of the Marquis of Rockingham, being at the age of twenty-one, where there was the most numerous appearance of nobility and gentry, &c., as ever were seen at such an occasion, upwards of 10,000 in all; above 3,000 were entertained in the Hall, and after they had dined the victuals were carried out to booths, &c., ready provided for the common people, with as much liquor as they pleased, and the whole entertainment conducted with great regularity; at 53 tables in 23 rooms, 132 dishes of beef, 92 pasties, 60 dishes of mutton, 48 hams, 50 dishes of chickens, 55 dishes of lamb, 70 dishes of veal, 104 dishes of fish, 106 of cheesecakes and tarts, besides jellies, &c.; 150 bushels of wheat flour, in bread and pies; 20 hogsheads of strong beer, most of it brewed in 1730; 13 hogsheads of ale, 3 hogsheads of household beer, 8 hogsheads of punch, 6 hogsheads of port wine. And the next day was drunk 8 hogsheads of strong beer beside ale as much as the common people could drink, not to excess. The following healths were drunk, viz., the King: the Prince of Wales; the Princess Dowager of Wales; the Duke, the Princes, and all the Royal Family; the Church of England as by law established; Prosperity to the County of York and the Trade thereof. The Marquis passed through every room and paid his respects to the company, and his health was followed with loud huzzas (*Wilson's MSS*).

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

KING JOHN AT ROUNDHAY PARK.

Hath not old custom made this life more sweet
Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods
More free from peril than the envious court?

WHEN Henry de Laci founded the Abbey of Kirkstall, in 1152, the first gifts of land he made to it were the place of Kirkstall, Bramley, and the vaccary called Brachinley, near Le Runde Heia; to these were added the common rights of all the moor called Winnemor. The vaccary, cow range, or grazing farm of Brachinley—the Bracken Field—denotes absence of wood and the existence of rude cultivation, while the common right on Winnemor speaks of the outlying wilderness. Le Runde Heia means in modern language the round enclosure; heia, or haga, the Saxon word for an enclosure, occurring around us in many forms, as haigh, hey, but always signifying the same thing—a preserved plot severed from the adjoining open lands over which, while there were common rights for the peasant, there was also the choicest of hunting ground for the lord. Rothwell Haigh, on the south side of Leeds, as Roundhay is on the north, are prominent instances of the most ancient of these game enclosures. At the present day Rothwell Haigh, as to its boundaries and sylvan features, is but a name; yet the map shows that at Le Runde Heia the ancient form and limits have been preserved intact, while as to its sylvan features and arboreal beauties a more lovely spot does not exist in all Yorkshire. Though Winmoor is cultivated, and Leeds teems with hundreds of thousands of busy—and often meddlesome—folk, the park is still the dream of the poet and charm of the artist.

As a hunting ground Le Runde Heia was preserved by the Lacis, lords of Pomfret, and the above date assures us that it would be one of the earliest preserves in England. Beyond that fact, however, there is very little known of its ancient history. Roundhay Grange, as its name imports, was one of the Kirkstall farms established by the monks in the first days of their conventual existence, and clearly in the Brackinley cowpasture. Roundhay Park lying nearer to the convent than the Grange, was a hunting ground the monks cast their eyes upon, only, however, to be foiled. So long as the Lacis ruled in the great feudal fortress at Pomfret, just as long was the park devoted to themselves and their guests. To the domestic necessities of the sportsmen we owe the establishment of the manor house, where there has many a goodly company been gathered in the olden time, when gallant knights and fair ladies were wont to ramble over the country, sometimes to enjoy the chase, but more frequently to enjoy each other's society, and that greatest of earthly sweetnesses, "love's young dream." The ancient pastime of hawking was one most popular with the ladies; and considering the facilities offered for flirtation, and the more serious engagements which often followed, we do not wonder at its popularity, The climax of pomp, prodigality, and itinerant pleasure seems to have

been reached at Roundhay in September, 1212, when King John stopped there for three days, with a retinue composed of the great men of the court and the nobles of the land, hunting with a pack of hounds exceeding 200 in number! We dare not allow imagination to picture that scene. We dare not guess at the train of "baron and yeoman, knight and squire," from the adjoining halls, including, as it most probably did, "the Romish priest in his priest's attire" from more than one of the neighbouring convents, hunting being a part of the offices of the Church, as witness the life of Chaucer's monk—

> Therefore he was a pricasour aright,
> Greyhoundes he hadde as swifte as fowel in flight;
> Of prikyng and of hunting of the hare
> Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare.

Of what a motley company then gathered at Roundhay we have ample evidence, positive or circumstantial. The monk might not be the sole representative of the Church, secular or regular. Here and there perhaps would ride a mincing nun, "that of hire smylyng was ful symple and coy;" and among the comely dames of the neighbouring knights and the ripening clusters of their blushing daughters, there was most assuredly a sprinkling of the King's lemans, whose entertainment may account for the gratuity given by the King to the nuns of Arthington. But let us turn from this category of the "douce et bel" to the healthier section of the roysterers. Leeds—just then emancipated by Maurice de Gaunt's charter from its feudal bondage—would doubtless pour forth its grateful burghers, happy in the sunshine of associated splendour and municipal prosperity. Pomfret—or, as the King then both called and wrote it, "Puntfreit"—would certainly send the chosen of its chivalry and the pink of its beauty. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that when the hunting-horns of Robin de Samford and John le Chat (*the cat*, a deft stalker, no doubt), the king's huntsmen, sounded the assembly, the glades and brakes of the splendid woodland would witness a concourse of merry-makers which, in point of dignity, though not in point of numbers, has never since gathered within its meets and bounds. And when the mighty throng had tired of the chase, and the king had cast aside his furred scarlet robe, his little socks, and the royal buskins of cow's leather, which cost the State two shillings and sevenpence! Ah, well-a-day! the normal habits of hunters are so constant and so well known as to foreshadow the sequel. Harpers there were and minstrels in attendance upon the King. The sumpter horses bore their loads of wine; the baggage-carts bore the king's wardrobe, including his cape with tunic and supertunic, and pall furred with green cendal, costing eightpence! They also bore many other of the royal trappings, even down to the State bed and its furniture.

And when the bay of the hound had ceased, and the grooms had stabled the horses in the great range of stables that completed the conveniences of the manor-house—the "easements," as they are afterwards called;—when Robin and John had thrown aside their russet coats and

green tunics, furred with rabbit skin, and had settled themselves down to the huge "pastys of the doe," to mighty beakers of nappy ale, and to the blandishments of the rosy kitchen wenches or of the more pretentious tire-women, among whom was Susan, the tire-woman of the king's mistress—*domicella amicæ domini Regis*, as the record of this expedition bluntly puts it—who had donned her tunic and supertunic of black burnett, furred with cendal of saffron colour, which cost the King sixpence!—when the harp and the tabor would be called into requisition, and roasted crabs would hiss in the bowl; why then the basket of dried roses, for which the king had given three pence, would yield its fragrance to the ready ball-room, and the pleasures of "bone camerardrie" and the delights of the dance would succeed. Henry de Neville would sport his robe of scarlet-red, furred with cendal, and presented to him by the king at a cost of fourpence; the page Henry de Tracy, and his comrade Richard, the king's son, would figure in their capes of russet with tunic and supertunic, which cost the liberal monarch sixpence; and Brian de Insula would shine majestic in the robe of ruby scarlet, with the tunic and supertunic furred with green cendal, and presented to him by the king at a cost of eightpence! The royal tailor's bills of those hearty days were moderate, as we learn from this and other veracious histories:—

King Stephen was a worthy peer,
His breeches cost him half-a-crown;
He held them all a groat too dear,
And called the tailor thief and loon.

The young and the sprightly would betake themselves to the mazy dance, while the King and the elders would and did betake themselves, "ad tabulas," to the gaming table, where reckless John on more than one occasion lost various sums, in some instances amounting to five shillings, as the records of the royal accounts still testify. Brian de Insula, of Harewood, and Constable of Knaresborough, was a frequent winner at these entertainments; and others of his neighbours are recorded as having dipped their fingers into the king's purse. John Lackland was hardly fitted to gamble with Yorkshire knights. The scene that I have ventured to draw is no imaginary thing; it is a literal truth in most of its features—probably so in all. Every man above-named and described was in the king's train at one time or another during his journey, even if all were not at Roundhay; and every article mentioned was supplied to them. The cost of the hounds at Roundhay for the three days was 58s. 4½d. paid down; and when John left the country he gave to each of the bridges of Tadcaster and Ferrybridge, one mark for repairs. That was his very liberal way of getting over the pontage toll.

Roundhay Park remained an appendage to Pomfret as a crown manor until 1361, when the king, with the consent of his cousin Matilda, one of the daughters and heiresses of Henry, late Duke of Lancaster, granted it to his dearest son John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond, and Blanche his wife, another daughter of the deceased duke, together with

the castle and town of Pomfret, the manors of Bradeford, Almonbury, Altoftes, Warmfield, Rothewell, Ledes, Scoles, Barwyk, Kypax, Allerton, Knottyngleye, with the mill there, Beghale, Kamsale, Owston, Elmesale, Akeworth, and Tanshelf, with their members and appurtenances, and the bailiwicks of Osgodcros, Agbrigge and Stayncros, and the bailiwick of the honor of Pomfret, viz., an annual rent called "castelferme," and pleas and perquisites of the court. It then became a member of the great Duchy of Lancaster, and as such reverted to the crown when the time came which

Should wrong the Gaunt-born great Lancasterian line

During the century of national trouble which began with the reign of Richard II., who was

to cold Pomfret sent
And in a dungeon miserably pent,

and which ended with the Wars of the Roses, Roundhay was slipping from its ancient dignity to the position of the house of a country squire. In the reign of Henry VII. it descended even lower than this, for chivalry deserted it, and the mansion became the home of a Leeds clothier, after the park had been granted to Richard Brampton as keeper for the term of life with the fees and wages belonging thereto. On the 5th March, 1486, the King grants a lease for seven years to William Netilton of the chief messuage with the easements of the houses of the manor of Roundhay, with all the lands, &c., thereto pertaining, together with the marl pit and the annual rents of the freeholders and term-holders in Roundhay and Shadwell; also the pasture and one bull and 24 cows in the park of Roundhay, with the herbage and pannage of the said park; also of the bailiwick of the Vill of Ledes and the common oven, with four bovates of land in Thornor; rendering for the chief messuage with easements of the houses of the said manor £16 13s. 4d.; for the herbage and pannage of the park £4 12s. od.; for the bailiwick of the Vill of Ledes £9 3s. 4d.; for the common oven 44s.; for the four bovates in Thornor 50s. and an improved rent 3s. 4d. We also have the further information, which we must prize much more highly as giving us a glimpse most probably of the ancient house in which King John revelled, but in which certainly John of Gaunt sojourned—"the said William to keep all the premises in repair at his own cost, taking timber and thakstone from the park of Roundhay and the woods of Secrofte at Shadwell and at le Stondelf there." There has been a slip in this business, for two months later, on the 5th May, there is a King's lease for the term of his life to Sir John Nevylle "one of the Knights of the King's body," of the herbage and pannage of the park of Rondhagh, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster, rendering annually for the same £4 2s. od.; and he had also the office of master of the game in all the forests, chaces, and parks within the manor of Pomfret, together with the custody of the park of Rondeshagh, with the wages and fees pertaining to the same.

The appointment of a parker and the restriction of the number of neat cattle to be grazed in the park, together with the specific office of Sir John Neville is conclusive evidence that the park still remained preserved for the King's deer and other beasts of chase. The letting of the mansion to a tradesman is however equally conclusive of the change which had set in. The slip which we noticed as occurring in 1486 appears to have been remedied in 1488, on the 24th February, of which there was a lease granted by the advice of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster for seven years from Michaelmas last past to the same William Netilton of the chief messuage with easements of the houses of the manor of Roundhaye; and of a marl pit lately yielding 13s. 4d. and 66s. 8½d. from the rents of the freeholders and terminaries of Roundhay and Shadwell; and of pasture for one bull and 24 cows or other animals, in the park of Roundhay in winter and summer; and of the bailiwick of the town of Ledes and the common oven there; and of four bovates of arable land in Thornor with all demesne lands, meadows, and pasturages pertaining to the said manor; and of one close called Brekke, and of another piece of meadow called Esling:—at an annual rent of £16, and 16s. for the capital messuage and appurtenances; and of £11 7s. 8d. for the bailiwick and common oven; and of 50s. for the four bovates of land in Thornor; and of 4s. 8d. for the increment. The tenant to sustain and repair the house standing within the manor with timber and "thakstone" to be allowed him by the King's servants, in the park of Roundhay and the woods of the Secrofte at Shadwell and Stondelf there.

Leeds [From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post*]. W. WHEATER.

SOCIETY AND CRIME.

As a specimen of the treatment of criminal matters in those "brave days of old," and of the abhorrent morality of officials, both crown and baronial, I append a few episodes. In the pleas at York, Easter Term, 12th Edw. II., 1319, William of Swetton, Walter of Ceszay, Robert of Rikhale, and Thomas of Keyvill, taken at York "below the verge"—infra vergam—on suspicion of theft, were brought up for trial. The getting up of a case presented great difficulty to the Seneschal and Mareschal of the King's Hospice, who were the prosecutors; but under the circumstances of the arrest, with the instincts of their tribe, they found themselves bound to obtain a conviction. Swetton became an approver, and charged the others with having committed robbery in his presence, but without the King's verge of York. The place of the alleged robbery is not given in the pleadings.

The Seneschal took the prisoners before the King who was informed of the charge and the nature of the pleadings. Swetten, when asked, replied that he wished to urge his plea and then to become

evidence. Ceszay defended himself; he was prepared to back his defence by bodily combat with his accuser. His offer was allowed, and they fought, Ceszay was beaten and in consequence hanged, his guilt being assumed to be established by his defeat. The other prisoners, Rikhale and Keyvill declared they were clerks; but they were nevertheless committed to the Mareschal and sent for trial. When they came before the jury they were found to be not guilty, and were therefore discharged. But to satisfy the law, which had evidently abetted perjury and sacrificed an innocent man, the approver was himself taken and hanged. The justification of the officials appears to have been that under similar circumstances of miscarriage of justice, an approver had previously been hanged (*Abb. Plac*, 334). He probably as richly deserved death, and so assuredly did the officials if they had received their dues.

The law records of the time contain repeated entries of orders to arrest "vagabond monks and canons;" but a few strolling clerics of the Friar Tuck order did not, with the "good yemen" who were always prowling, constitute the whole criminal class, as we have already seen. Baronial morality was not always proof against riot and rapine. In 1246, the King granted to Peter de Savoy half a Knight's fee in Ledenham and Fulbeck, and the advowson of Fulbeck, also part of the forest of Wensledale, which lately belonged to Ranulf Fitz Robert of Middleham, as belonging to Peter's honour of Richmond. This is an example of the creation of confusion of which the following may be taken as the sequel. In 1267, Robert de Tateshale, senior, opposes in the court at York, Ranulf de Middleton (? Middleham), Richard, son of Gilbert de Hengrave, and others, on a plea that during the disturbances of the Barons' war they took, destroyed, and carried away his goods and chattels from his manor-house of Witton. They did not appear, and in default the Sheriff was ordered to distrain upon their goods and take their bodies.

Henry de Middleton opposed Brian Fitz Alan and many others who came to his manor-house of Melsanby, which was in his custody, and took therefrom goods and chattels to the value of £20; they also took away Adam, son of Hugh de Nairford, who was in his custody. They did not appear to the action and the Sheriff was ordered to distrain and arrest them. The Sheriff did not distrain, pleading the liberty of Richmond for not doing so; for which he was fined 100s., and then ordered to distrain on all their lands and goods, and to take their bodies notwithstanding the liberty of Richmond (*Abb. Plac.* 169). The matter seems to have created a bitter feud. In 1292, Brian Fitz Alan opposes Hugh Fitz Henry and ten others for hunting in his park called Westparke in Cotherstone, a warren that had been given to his ancestors by charter of King John. They were committed to prison for the offence. Hugh alleged divers errors in the plea and is given a further hearing. He seems to have obtained a verdict by arguing that the park was not enclosed; and that a place unenclosed by a wall, hedge, or pale, ought to be called a little chace rather than a park. It

may be that the bitterness did not end here. In 1305, Adam de Waylford impleaded the parson of Melsunby, for that by night he cut down trees at Melsunby, in a place called Riscough, and carried them away. The parson argued that he and his predecessors had always had *housebote* and *haybote* in the wood and place, and therefore he found his church seized of the right. It was not an easy thing to upset the claims of the parsons. In 1295, in a suit at York, the jurors established that in the parish of Caterich, the custom was that the parson or vicar ought to have for an obit from each parishioner who makes a will, one fourth part of the goods of the defunct (*Abb. Plac.* 235). Their pretensions sometimes brought them into unpleasant situations, as was the case with William, the vicar of Attingwyke, for the slaying of whom William Stuteville obtained the King's pardon at York assizes in 1296.

But the true home of shocking tragedy was on the southern border of the county. Since the days of bold Robin Hood, the Sheriff of Nottingham has not borne a name celebrated for humanity. The statements of the virtuous outlaw have been held to be considered as poetic license; but the following record of the winter gaol delivery at Nottingham in 1238, does not leave room for the suspicion of much exaggeration on the part of the worthy, if persecuted rangers. It is taken from the *Fine Rolls* of that year, and in the matter of accuracy is beyond doubt. Hugh Fitz Ralph, the Sheriff, renders account of the goods of the criminals capitally punished. It is a horrible list. The persons whose names are given were hanged, and their goods forfeited to the King realised the amount attached to their names—William de Wetton, 5s.; Alan de Breus, 4d.; Walter Stalling, 4s. 4d.; Robert Baker, 3s.; Aldusa de Cruch, 12s.; Agnes de Stanth'Ker, 12s. 4d.; William Haldein of Eyton, 18½d.; Walter de Berliston, 5s. 6d.; Reginald de Karleton, 15s.; Hugh Paynell, 4s.; Gilbert the Miller, 8s.; Roger Fasing, 13s.; Ranulf Fasing, 16s.; Leticia de Wingerworth, 9s. 10d.; Richard Brid, 4s.; Hugh son of Henry, 4s.; John de Oreston, 3s.; John de Dunpain, who had no return of goods; and Margaret de Colingham, whose chattels realised 14s. From this dreadful slaughter Martin the Tailor escaped as a fugitive; his goods were seized, and they realised 2s. That four women and fifteen men were despatched "at one fell swoop" speaks much for the rigour of the law, and possibly was like unto the deeds which established the ancient reputation of the proud Sheriff.

In the Lancastrian days the castle of Pomfret enjoyed a degree of splendour, perhaps never equalled before or since. It was frequently the residence of the Kings, and was especially prominent in feudal grandeur during the constabulates of the fine old family of Waterton of Methley, of whom one brought thither and detained as his prisoner, the King of France after Agincourt in 1415. It is pleasant to read of the pomp of royal residence; it is exhilarating to restore to the vision the pageantry of chivalry with its trains of gallant knights and its bevies of beautiful ladies; its comely pages, sandalled friars and faithful bowmen;

but the realisation of the demands of the locust-like troupe, attendant during these royal visits is a sad commentary upon their splendour. The advent of the King's household was destructive as a pestilence. The neighbourhood of his residence was extravagantly requisitioned. In 1442, it had to be ordained by parliament, "that no manner of man take any vitaill, stuff, or carriage for your said household, les than he paye redy money for such vitaill and stuff, and for the carriage when it is do, after that it be resonablie accorded betwene the parties opon the beying and sellying of the said vitaill and stuff, and hiryng of the said carriage." The ground of complaint which brought about this ordinance was that the purveyors of the King's household "taken dayly for hym of his people of this land their oxen, shepe, pullaile (poultry), whete, otes, barlich, malt, benes, all maner of salt-fyssh, wyn, ale, wax, spicere, and all manere, vitaill, and stuff yat longith to household, with carriage; under colour of the which takyng, and namely, of more than is necessarie to his hous, and in diversez wises by diversez menes not resonable, take exactions of his people, be colour of yoffice and takyng aforesaid, notwithstondyng full noble ordinances-penales that have ben mad thereof in his full noble progenitour's time, to their importable hurt."

Other fitful glimpses of the old order of things are now and again afforded. They all reveal the day of opportunity—of making hay while the sun shines. In 1415, we have Robert Roos appointed to the office of keeper, and one of the emoluments of his office was the complete allowance of the agistment of the park, and of a certain pasture within the park called "Viccarisclose," leaving sufficient pasture for the King's deer within the park, rendering annually for the agistment of the said park, 59s., and for the pasture, 21s.; and in the case of pigs turned into the park, he was bound to take the precaution of having them sufficiently "rung" so that they may not cause damage by "wrotyng." On the 21st September of the same year, there is a grant to Sir George Stanley, Lord le Strange, of the office of steward and surveyor of the honor of Pomfret, and of the constableship of the castle; also of the office of forester of the parks and warden of all forests, parks and chaces within the honor and lordship; also of the office of master of all the King's game therein; to hold for the term of his life, with all the fees, endowments, &c., thereunto pertaining. At the same time Sir John Everyngham is granted the office of constable and porter of the Castle of Pountfreit; to hold for the term of his life, with all fees, wages, &c., to the same belonging. Nicholas Leventhorp has a grant of the office of receiver of the honour and lordships of Pomfret and Knaresburgh, parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster; to hold during the King's pleasure, with all fees, wages, &c., to the same belonging; also of keeper of the artillery within the castle of Pomfret, with the fees and wages for term of life. But when the quieter times came in the reign of Henry VII., the military rigour of the castle does not seem to have abated, nor were the woodland sports diminished. We find from writs and grants "given at the casteil of Pountfreit," that Henry was stopping

there in the months of June, July, and August, 1467. The forest regulations were stringently upheld; the superior sylvan sanctity of Rothwell-Hagh, being most scrupulously preserved, as of old, when it had its establishment of foresters. On the 22nd September, 1485, there was a grant to Peter Wright, as well for his service in parts beyond the sea as in England, of the office of the parker of the park of Rothewelhay, within the honor of Pountfreit, and of the office of bailiff there, to hold for the term of his life, with all the fees and wages, the same as Roger Hopton had received. Hopton had been promoted. Two months later there is a lease for seven years granted to him of the site of the manor or lordship of Ackworth, and all the demense lands thereof, and the agistment of the park of Ackworth, and the profits within the lordship; also of the herbage and pannage of the park of Rothewelhay; rendering therefore annually for the site of the manor or lordship, with the demesne lands, £10s. 6s. 8d.; for the water-mill 33s. 4d.; for the agistment of the park of Ackworth, 10s.; for the profits within the lordship, 8d.; and for the herbage and pannage of Rothwelhay, £6 13s. 4d., and an improved rent of 6s. 1d.

Though not entirely descriptive of the iniquities of Yorkshiremen, it is pertinent to the present subjects to mention the misdeeds of a "graunt nombre of Escolers and Clercz of the University of Oxenford" as illustrative of the continuance and wide-spread range of offences under the game laws. In 1421, a petition is presented to parliament against these roysterers, stating that they have disseized and ousted several men of their lands and tenements, threatening to beat and kill them so that they dared not remain on their lands. These "escolers and clercz" were wont to hunt with hounds and greyhounds in the warrens, parks, and forests, and to take both by night and day deer, hares, and coneys, and to menance the rangers, foresters, and parkers, their servants, &c., and they have also taken with a strong hand, clerks convicted of felony, out of the custody of the ordinaries, and set them at large. The petition asks that on the warrant of a Justice, the Chancellor of the University shall banish these clerks from Oxford for ever, and that the banishment shall not be delayed beyond three days of the delivery of the writ, on pain of paying to the King 100 marks for each omission. The petition was granted.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

PHASES OF OLD PARISH LIFE.

SOCIAL PUNISHMENTS—THE WHIPPING-POST.

THE common instruments of penal correction in the olden time were the whipping-post, the pillory, and the stocks; of which the last are survivals to our own day, though of very rare occurrence. Sometimes the whipping-post and stocks were combined—the arm-holes of the former being fastened low down to an upright wooden pillar, and the bended bare back of the offender was before the inflictor of the chastisement, usually the constable. This very old and common mode of punishment, was publicly performed so late as the last century. In the reign of Henry VIII., vagrants and sturdy beggars (male and female), who were able to work, were unmercifully *whipped* until the body was bloody. Gipsies came in for a large share of correction—for the first offence *whipping;* second, the right ear chopped off; third, death as a felon or enemy to the Commonwealth.

I select instances from Yorkshire Records and Injunctions and from the Statutes of the Realm.

1605.—The commonest occasion was for theft. 1607.—For stealing a lamb, value 3d. 1608.—"The Constable of Wath was presented for not executing his office in whipping of rogues, being sent unto him by the Highe Constable." "Agnes Egglesfield, late of New Malton, for stealing there a felt hatt, value 10d.; sentence to be whipped and set in the stocks at Malton, with a paper on her head."

In 1609.—The mother of an illegitimate child, to be whipped in full market tyme, until her body be bloudie, &c. Stat. 18 Eliz., 1576.—Two justices may inflict corporal punishment upon the reputed father by *whipping*, not being of ability to discharge the parish.

1 Jac., 1603.—Infected and plague-stricken people going abroad in that state were to be whipped.

7 Jac. I., 1610.—Spinsters, &c. (spinners), imbezilling or detaining any wool from clothiers shall make satisfaction or be whip'd or put into the stocks by constables. Unlicensed ale-house keepers, having no goods whereon to distrain, were to be *whipped.*

43. Eliz., 1600.—Hedge-breakers, robbers of orchards, persons cutting growing corn and not making satisfactory amends, were to suffer the like punishment, and if the constable neglected to apply the whip he was himself to be committed to the House of Correction without bail. Procurers and receivers of stolen wood were to be treated in the same way. These ordinances were further enforced 15 Car. 2, 1664, and 1 Geo. 2, 1727.

In 1655, East Ardsley constable's accounts—"Given to John Hall for whipping a man that was taken for theft." "Spent in watching of him one night." In 1689, "ffor mending buttes, whipstock, and stocks, 1s. 4d." 17 Geo, 2, 1744. "Beggars to be whip't by constables as vagrants if they continue to beg in the streets." In 1761, May 30, at the Quarter Sessions, held yesterday, at the Moot Hall, in this town (Leeds), "Mary Hardman, *alias* Moll Fagg, for stealing a candlestick from Mr. Nichols, the Red Bear, in this town, was ordered to be publickly whip't" (*Leeds Intelligencer*). On Friday, 17th August, 1764, "Lydia Longbottom, of Bingley, was publickly whip't through the market, at Wakefield, for reeling false and short yarn, the Town Bailiff carrying a reel before her."

THE PILLORY,

called in Latin "carcannum," "collistrigium," and "truncus," and by the Anglo-Saxons "heal-fang" (neck grasper) and strech-neck" (a very appropriate term), was of several kinds. One was a horizontal plank,

with a hole for the head in the middle. It was supported on each side by pillars. The culprit's head and neck were thrust into the aperture, and having no foothold, he was suspended, which would be a very wretched and uncomfortable position. The more modern make consisted of a cross beam of wood, with holes for the neck and wrists. This was placed in an upright post, and the occupant stood on a ledge or platform. It was really a municipal engine of punishment, and was generally erected in the market place, for the better exposure of notorious cheats, impostors, libellers, immoral people, and political offenders, to open shame, derision, and practical abuse, in the form of filth and foul things being hurled at them.

Statute 3, John, 1202. The assize of bread was to be observed under pain of the pillory or judgment of the body—awarded to bakers giving short weight.

51, Hen. 3, 1266. "The statute referring to the assize of bread remarks, also if they have in the town a pillory of convenient strength, as appertaineth to the liberty of the market, which they may use, if need be, without bodily peril either to man or woman."

5 and 6, Ed. 6, 1552. Forestallers, for the third offence, shall lose all their goods and be set on the pillory.

In 1606. North Riding Records. Unlicensed informers are to stand on the pillory two hours in full market with a paper on their heads testifying their misdemeanors.

In 1656. James Nayler, a native of Ardsley, for imposture and blasphemy, had to suffer in this way. He was placed on the pillory, whipped, and had his tongue bored, and he was branded on the forehead "B" with a red-hot iron. Such horrible treatment brought on his death.

Leedes, July 23d, 1754. Last Monday, at the Quarter Sessions for this burrough, Eleanor Hall, commonly known by the name of Nell Duxburry, was prosecuted for keeping a disorderly and infamous house, and convicted of the same, and this day, pursuant to her sentence, is to stand on the pillory.—*Leeds Intelligencer.*

THE STOCKS.

One of the earliest modes of punishment adopted, and the last to survive, was a kind of wooden prison for the legs. It scarcely needs any description here, as several may yet be seen in Yorkshire villages. By Act of Parliament in 1405 it was decreed "that every town or seignory" shall provide a pair of stocks, those failing to do so to incur the penalty of 100s. They were often fixed near the church, probably to be convenient for the churchwardens and constable, and to be a warning to passers-by. In the Middle Ages there was a kind called "barnacles," which had holes at various distances to extend the legs and increase the torture according to the offence. They were also movable, and kept in castles, being an appendage to the inner gate, even for the detention of prisoners till they could be conveniently taken to prison.

In 23 Edward III., 1349, was enacted the Statute of Labourers, in which it states that "servants refusing to take the oath or perform what they had sworn to (that is, carry out their contract) shall be put into the stocks or sent to the next gaol, and there remain until they will justify themselves; and in order to enforce the same, that stocks be made in every town for such occasion betwixt this and the Feast of Pentecost." This was further insisted upon (5 Eliz., 1563) especially during harvest time; if they will not be set on to work they were to be two days and a night thus secured.

Before Henry 7th's time constables had power to put a man in the stocks who broke the peace, such as affrayers, those fighting in public and would not desist when asked; for disobedience to his official orders, or when an appointed watchman would not do his duty. Parents deserting their bastard child, or dropping one and leaving it unprovided for in a parish, when apprehended were to be placed in the stocks. A felon was to be set in the stocks, and locked in irons put upon him or pinioned to prevent escape when about to be carried before a justice of the peace.

Drunkenness was punished in England by a fine of 5s. for each offence. If unable to pay, the party was to sit in the stocks six hours. 2 James, 1605.

1606. North Riding Records.—"For stealing a paire of shoes to be sett in the stockes *(sedente curia)*, be soundlie whipped and bound over to good beheavour, and to appear," &c.

1609. "For refusing to paie such money as is assessed upon Northolme towardes the repayre of Edstone stockes," &c. "The towneshipp of Kirklington for not having stocks."

1 Car. 2, 1650.—Sabbath breakers.—Constables and churchwardens are to levy the Penalty of 3s. 4d. on such as use bull-baiting, games, or plays on a Sunday—for the use of the poor. If not forthcoming the offenders shall be set in the stocks three hours.

1667. East Ardsley accounts.—"Paid for repaireing the towne stockes and for wood and workmanshipp," 1s. 6d. In 1689 "Pd. for repairinge ye stocks," 10d. 1786. West Ardsley, constable accounts.—"New stocks, 14s."

19 Geo. 2. 1745.—Profane cursing or swearing was punishable by the stocks, in default of not paying the penalty, which for a common labourer, soldier, sailor, &c., was 1s.; under the degree of gentleman, 2s.; above this degree, 5s. Repeated offences of this sort entailed a doubling or trebling of the fine.

East Ardsley (From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post.*) J. BATTY, F.R.H.S.

As these ancient instruments are now obsolete and almost forgotten in every parish, I add a few of the recollections of correspondents touching the subject. W. J. B., Liverpool, writes thereon—What has become of the Leeds Parish Stocks? I remember them well fifty years ago, and have several times seen people in them. Their locality was at the side of the building (now the Post-office), near the end. Close beside them was a low, dungeon-looking door, which opened to a flight of steps leading to a large room, in which I believe the Quarter Sessions were held. The ordinary examinations of prisoners took place in a room at the front of the Court-house in Park-row—the room on the right-hand side entering the vestibule. At the time I believe the constabulary force of Leeds consisted of *four* constables, with a Chief Constable (Mr. Edward Read). This state of things was soon altered by the introduction of the new police, vulgarly called "Peelers" and "Bobbies," a sort of left-handed compliment to the statesman of a similar name. Talking of the police, I remember well their first day's appearance in Leeds. They walked their beats in *couples*, one at each side of the street directly opposite to each other. This was soon discontinued. I suppose the Watch Committee found it would be too expensive, and perhaps more ornamental than useful. I also remember a little anecdote of a circumstance occurring within the first few weeks of their operations. One Saturday night there was some street disturbance at the top of Lady-lane, a small crowd had gathered, and a fight was evidently

fermenting, when one of the new officers (rather short in stature) made his appearance, urging his way through the crowd. He did his best to restore order by advising the men to be quiet and go home, when suddenly one of the combatants, moved probably by a little bacchanalian humour, got hold of the policeman in his arms, and threatened to carry *him* home. The captured official, making fruitless efforts to sever the attachment, at last said, "By gum, if thou doesn't let me down, I'll tak thee up." This speech settled the row. I must apologise, for the police seem to have slipped in unconsciously, and, in obedience to one of their principal injunctions, I "move-on." By-the-bye, permit me to ask a question. What became of the stocks that used to be in the old churchyard? This will be more than fifty years ago. They used to stand near the gates which faced up Kirkgate. The last persons I saw in the prison stocks were two men of the "Bill Sykes" type. One wore an old velveteen coat, and the other a smock frock. There were one or two of their friends condoling with them outside the railings.

"West Bar" writes—I remember the stocks near the Kirkgate corner of the old Parish Churchyard, and also those near the old Court-house, where I have several times seen them occupied when I was a boy. It may also be interesting to know that the last person who was flogged at the cart tail in Leeds was John Bird, a quack doctor, who lived near the end of Harper-street, in Kirkgate. He was flogged down Briggate and Kirkgate. I relate it as told to me by my father, an eye-witness of the operation. It was customary in Leeds when I was a lad for a "cropper" to take his eldest son, teach him the trade, and have the advantage of his services. Being an old man now, I am probably the last cropper that was so taken in connection with the Leeds trade.

Mr. J. Johnston, Beeston, writes—There is in good preservation, even up to the padlock, a set of stocks just outside the gates of Leathley Church. I saw them during the summer on my way from Arthington station to view Lindley Wood Waterworks. I may add that they did not seem as if they had been opened for many years. Also, I had pointed out to me fourteen years ago the stone uprights of the stocks in a recess at the top end of the old stone cottages close to Shipley Church. I have also a dim recollection of seeing a drunken man in the stocks at Wetherby, these stocks being under some steps in the Town Hall, opposite the Shambles; but this is a long while ago.

J. W., Barnsley, writes—My recollections of the stocks at Barnsley date back nearly sixty-five years. The instrument was then a fixture at the south end of the Town Hall, on Market Hill; but through some cause—although the seat on which the prisoners sat when incarcerated was allowed to remain—the stocks when not in use were kept in the yard of the Cock Inn, and only brought back to their old standing when wanted for use. This was the place for them until the Town Hall was pulled down, after which they were placed anywhere on Market Hill at the caprice of the constable in charge. This did not last long, for through age they became very dilapidated, and eventually were

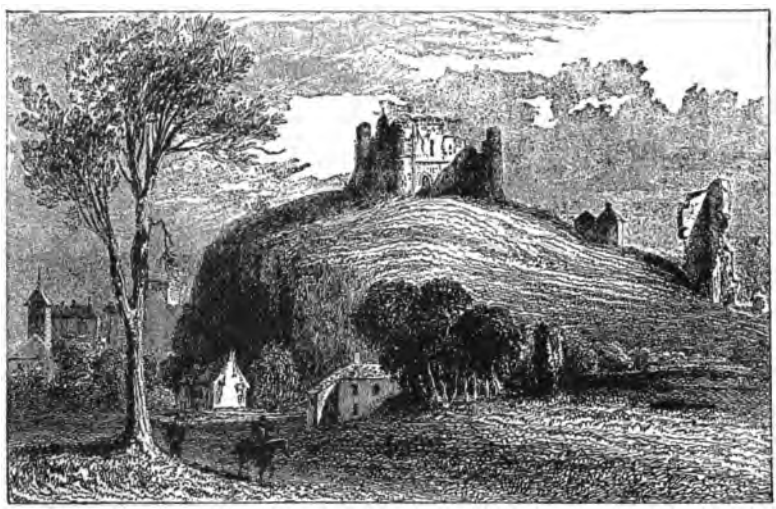
broken up. This would be about 1824, and for twenty years the stocks were considered to be a thing of the past; but in 1844, the town authorities determined to have them replaced by new ones, which were made to run on wheels, so that they could be removed when not in use. This being done, the younger portion of our population had their organ of astonishment brought into full play on Wednesday, October 9th, 1844, by finding them on Market Hill with two men tethered therein. For about sixteen years they were oft tenanted, the usual term of punishment being four hours, and as Market Hill is very steep, one half of the time the prisoners were placed with their faces down the hill, and then the machine was wheeled round, and being thus placed with their backs to the fall of the hill must have added greatly to their punishment. Their last tenant was a man from Dodworth. I only knew of one female who was sentenced to confinement therein, but she was not publicly exposed, her punishment being carried out in a spare room inside the Court-house. The Barnsley stocks must have been broken up previous to 1868, in which year the late Mr. George Sykes became superintendent, for he said they were destroyed before he took office.

Mr. J. Cooper, Helmsley, writes—Sixty years ago I did not know a parish in our district without stocks. They seemed as indispensable as the constables, and for a very small offence they were used. I have seen people in them both at Helmsley and Sinnington. The most dreaded affair was the throwing of rotten eggs at the culprits while in the stocks, which in our language was called "cobbling them." Only once did I witness the egg affair. The prisoner was a fighting man, and threatened what he would do afterwards. He so cowed the party that he escaped the dirt and stones. The old stocks at Helmsley were in the centre of the market-place, and had a companion that has not been mentioned by any of your correspondents—the pillory—the only one I ever saw. It was made of oak, and was square. It would measure from 15 to 18 inches on each side. Time had made it black, and it looked like standing for ever. It would probably be about seven feet out of the ground, and at about the height of an ordinary man's face was an iron clasp, formed so that it would embrace both the wrists and the head of a man. Like the stocks, the pillory was fastened with a large hang-lock. Both of the instruments were removed nearly sixty years ago. A pair of new stocks were, however, put up at the end of the town, while a wooden lamp-post did duty for the pillory in the market-place. During the alterations the iron bracelet was mislaid, and a new one made before the job was finished. The old one turned up, so that we had one on each side. Helmsley oil lamps were only lighted for a few years, and a runaway waggon (the wheels caught the post) knocked it down, and Helmsley pillory became a thing of the past. The stocks were used once or twice after the removal, but the pillory never.

Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement.

BARONIAL.

KNARESBOROUGH CASTLE AND FOREST.



BE IT KNOWN THAT SERLO DE BURGH OR DE PENBROKE FIRST CONSTRUCTED THE CASTLE OF KNARESBURGH.

THAT is the laconic announcement of the foundation of one of the most celebrated feudal strongholds of Yorkshire. As an announcement it is entirely inadequate to its purpose, if that purpose was to account for the initiation of a seat of rule and a system of government. It is, on the other hand, entirely sufficient to reveal the popular power centred in Knaresborough when we know that the earlier of the Norman castles were only erected in those places which had been the seats of government from the days of the Celts. In the development of their conquest, for nearly a century after the taking of York and the devastation of the country in 1069, the Normans were held to the earthworks they found garrisoned by their predecessors to arrest their

progress. The occupation may be fairly measured by the dates of these strongholds; erected as established power and opportunity allowed the invaders to convert the earthworks into the stronger citadels their instincts and their ease alike demanded. York, seized by an army and protected by a powerful garrison, could be immediately commenced. Pomfret, captured and held in the same manner, was about contemporary with it. Richmond, further away from the base, could not be completed until 1146. It was not before 1172 that the Keep of Newcastle could be raised; and it was even ten years later than that before Scarborough, Helmsley, Skipton, and Middleham—lying off the main road as they did, and therefore not so urgent—were wholly created. In the meantime the police duties of the country had to be in the greatest measure performed from the depôts established at the ancient earthworks, where garrisons alone could be sheltered. By this light we may read the full meaning of the words, "To all men, French and English," in the charters granted by the second and third generations of Norman Barons. They are a plain admission that there were districts in the land where the English were still rulers, their fealty being a matter of good-will and not of subjugation.

The erection of the castle of Knaresborough, I take it, was the act of a man who—himself or his father—had gone over from the native race. For a century even after this event the old English were not dispossessed of the soil. From the Viking districts of North Lincolnshire, over the hills of Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and up to the Roman Wall, they were yet the landlords and local magnates. At the close of the twelfth century they were donors to the Templars, and as I read the annals of that majestic order they were generous donors and fervent friends; to them I can fancy it was more congenial and appeared much better to support the church with a cuirass and a good brown blade than with a cowl and a homily. In Burnbem, Richard, the son of Harkale (Arkil) gave lands, as did Ralph, son of Aldrid in Aldefield; Wigan, the son of Cade at Bartune; Thorfer at Burg; and Thomas, the son of Arkill, at Waldbi. By that time the Norman, having potential hold of the strategic points, was endeavouring to extend his dominion; but the struggles of conquest were not over, and it is plain that they only ceased by the absorption of the conquerors. In the affections of English ladies more than in their own swords the post-Conquest Normans found titles to their lands. In the reign of Henry III. the Gunhildas and the Gunnoras, the Sigrethas and the Ediths, were given with their lands to the Alans, the Brians, and the Eudos; their children being called Matilda, Cicely, and Sibyl—to the extirpation of the old Norse names. We have instances enough of the change. In 1200 Alexander de Caudebec claimed against Robert de Curteney and Alice his wife, lands in Cumberland, which Waltheof, the father, and Gospatric son of Oron, the grandfather of Alexander, had held. In the same year William Stuteville, then Constable of Knaresborough, was himself pledge for Thomas, a son of this Gospatric, in a

claim for lands in Coupland. In 1201, Stuteville had the custody of the land in Yorkshire belonging to this Thomas, together with his heiress and her maritage by fine which Roger de Beauchamp and Hillary, Thomas's wife, made with the King. In the same year the Thanes and rent-men (Theingi et firmarii) of the honor of Lancaster gave 50 marks for one Knight's fee of that honour. In 1205, Thurstan de Tolvestan and Agnes, his wife, had lands in Moreby, Dringehuses, and Maltemby. In 1207, William de Egremunt, William, son of Goscelin, and Robert, son of Uthdred, were detained in custody for the death of Walter Belle. In 1219, Alan, son of Lefsi, and Alice, his wife, had a tenement in Sherburn. In 1235, Swane de Hudersal (Ordsal) held two bovates of land in Hudersal, Lancs, of the King in capite as a thane (*in thanagio*). These events, which are but a type of local affairs, and could be multiplied at pleasure, are sufficiently illustrative of the fact that the Norman only established himself in the remoter districts by alliance with the natives, and the inheritance rather than conquest of their lands. How the old patronymics were changed for territorial appellations the case of Alexander de Caudebec is an excellent instance.

Having the zeal of their class, the converts to the new rule were by policy as much as necessity, which was urgent, intrusted with power over their refractory compatriots. The Cnorre's burg, a Crown manor of the old English days—the tribe's burg, or people's burg, evidently of the oldest foundation—was one of the principal gathering posts of the antecedent races. It was, therefore, merely taking over a fixed establishment, and to maintain the rule exercised in the olden days, that Serlo built the castle, doubtlessly as early as the possession of the neighbourhood was at all settled. So it is clear that the rule he consolidated may be taken to prove the conditions of existence in the days before the Conquest. Knaresburgh, the head and judgment seat of a district for many antecedent centuries, continued as such under the new order of things. It may be assumed that in the olden days the local folkmotes and the ordinary tribunals of justice assembled to sit in the town; for it is a fact that the King's Justices continued to sit there both in the Norman and Plantagenet eras. It is also a fact, of the greatest significance too, that the aboriginal Celt must have been an active agent in events, for his race cannot have then been extirpated, as his speech has not yet forsaken the lips of the mingled races who to-day are there, the occupants of his lands. His presence is here and there vouched for in the superior records. In 1205, Juliana, the wife of William Craddoc, the forester, gave 100s. for liberating the said William, her husband, who was in custody in the gaol at Nottingham. In the pleas of the reign of King John, Alice, who was the wife of Ralph Mauleverer, sought against Henry le Waleis, lands in Duneford and Little Duneford (in alia Duneford) which Ralph, formerly her husband, on the day he married her, gave to her as dowry, by command of William, his father, then present. Henry said that Ralph gave the lands to him for homage and

service, by a charter which he shewed, and which witnessed this, and William, the son and heir whom he called, ought to warrant that land. The court considered that Henry should have his warrant (*Abb. Plac.* 78.)

The building of the castle need not be taken to indicate any violent social change or the introduction of a previously unknown check upon personal liberty. The new buildings appear to have been residential rather than military and menacing; to the defamation of the structure and of the very shadowy but horrible stories of human iniquity, tyranny, and lust. We know that the donjon contained a pitiless prison, and that in the courtyard or the market-place were erected the stocks, pillory, gibbet, and gallows: but we must not believe that these instruments were unknown in the olden days. Knowing this, we must not attribute to Serlo any more than a tightening of the reins, and then say some things biographical of him and his race. I take it that his surname de Burgh or de Penbroke—the latter being regarded by me as a corruption of Pundeburg—was merely locating him at Burg, or the Pundeburg, as Boroughbridge was then called, in contradistinction evidently to Aldburgh, and as it continued to be called as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He is said to have been the Baron of Tonsburg, in Normandy, and to have flourished early in the twelfth century. It is true that he flourished early in the twelfth century, but he is much less likely to have been Serlo the Norman baron of Tonsburg, than Serlo of Pundeburg, son of one of the *Drenges* or *Drengi*, native tenants *in capite*, who either for domestic or other reasons had given their fealty to the new *regime*. Anyhow he was the uncle of Eustace Fitz John, founder of Malton Priory and progenitor of a race now to be bound up in the fortunes of Norman Knaresburg and its neighbour Pundeburg.

On the death of Serlo, Knaresborough is said to have descended by hereditary succession to Eustace, who had the manor for life, according to the received accounts, the truth of which is more than doubtful, for he held the manor as a farmer under the Crown. Eustace, slain in battle in Wales in 1157, was succeeded by William de Vesci, his son, who held the manor a short time, "but, through a certain indignation which our lord the King conceived against him, the manor was taken away from him and given to William de Stuteville, his brother-in law." This was done by King Henry II., whose charter is afterwards mentioned. King Richard confirmed the possession of William, after whose death Robert entered as son and heir, and King John confirmed his possession. Robert died seized, and after his death Eustace, his son, was within age and in wardship of King John. To this Eustace, King Henry gave his heritage, but retained Knaresburg and Ponteburg. (*Parl. Rolls.*) William of Newburgh, the historian under the year 1174, tells how Ralph de Glanville, Robert de Stuteville, Bernard de Balliol, and William de Vesci, captured William the Lion, King of Scotland, at Alnwick, after a bold night march—a deed which permitted the marriage of the young Eustace de Vesci with Agnes, the Lion's daughter, and so

brought about many of those complications between the two countries which had to come up for settlement in the reign of King Edward I.

In the reign of Henry II., De Morville, one of the knights who slew Thomas a Becket, was Constable of Knaresborough, to which he and his fellow-assassins fled after the murder as to a place of refuge. It is presumed that he nominally retained the constabulary until his death. It is, however, worthy of remark as possibly illustrative of the state of the defences that Roger Houeden,narrating the circumstances of the murder, says the assassins fled to Knaresborough, "the *town* of Hugh de Morville," without even mentioning the Castle. Hugh a successor in name at least held lands in the Constabulary a generation later; he was one of the donors to the Templars, having given them the whole town of Sowerby. He had married Helewisia de Stuteville. William de Stuteville had been excommunicated by the Archbishop of York, for the part he took at Tickhill against Richard. He was restored when John's faction again came into the ascendant. In 1198, we find a dispute between William de Stuteville and William de Untingfeld and Isabel his wife, on a plea of dowry. There was also then a dispute between William and Alan son of Elias, as to the advowson of Kirkeby Useburn, and following the litigation of the neighbourhood we find "a day given" to William Briwer, in his dispute with the Abbot of Sauleia as to the advowson of the Church of Tadekastre (*Abb. Plac.*) At Michaelmas, 1200, there was a "concord" between William de Huntingfield and William de Stuteville of the town of Cousebi, of lands which did belong to Bernerd de Stuteville. William Briwere had married Helewisa de Stuteville, the widow of Hugh de Morville, but was reappointed to the Castle by the King's grant on the 22nd April, 1200. The grant gives to him and to his heirs for his services Knaresborough "and the Burgh" by the service of three knights' fees, according to the charter of King Henry II. He died in 1203, when, on the 9th of July, the King gave to Robert his son and heir "Cnareburg and Pundeburg, with the sokes and forests, and the forest of Westmoreland"—hence the presence of William de Stutville in the matter of Alexander de Caudebec. It is plain that in these times the jurisdiction of the Constable of Knaresborough extented much beyond the bounds of the present forest. It was well established in parts of Westmoreland and Cumberland. I take that to be due to the fact that Knaresborough was the most westerly of the Norman strongholds. Kendal Castle was not then erected. Carlisle was not the citadel it became a century later, and in all its stages it was behind Knaresborough.

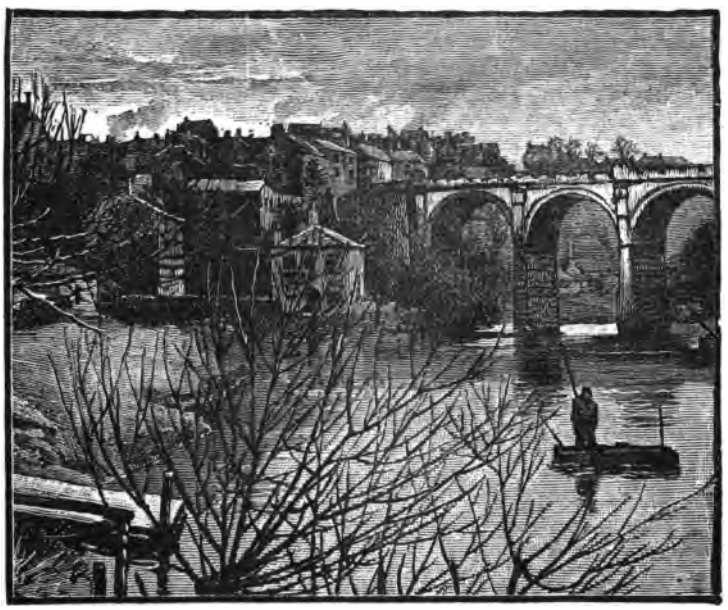
We do not know how much of the fortress of Knaresborough was built in those days. We may assume that it was but little—a mere strengthening of the ancient earthworks by defensible buildings. The main works were not constructed for nearly half a century yet to come. The view of the Keep here given refers the work to 1214 as mentioned below. We have very valuable evidence as to the date of much of the

work in the *Close Rolls*. On the 13th and 14th of February, 1206, John and his Queen were stopping at Knaresborough, the accommodation of which was in decay. On their departure the officials were ordered by the King to repair the houses and the Castle "according as we have made provison and have told you;" and that "in reparation of the houses and Castle ye act by the view and testimony of lawful men." John, disreputable himself, did not believe in the integrity of officials, and he had much occasion for distrust. Up to this time the works were enclosed only by the ditches of the ancient earthworks; Brian de Insula, the then Constable, completed the digging of the fosses in 1207. But the erection was going on for more than ten years later than that; and the local stone was evidently prized for castle building. During the years 1212-13 thirty thousand "quarrells" (stone quoins or ashlar blocks) had been sent from Knaresborough to Portsmouth, and an additional ten thousand were ordered to be sent to Pool for the erection of the Castle of Sherburn. In 1214, the Bishop of Winchester ordered Alan de St. George, constable of Knaresborough, to make all the "quarrells" he can, and cause them to be sent to Portsmouth; but he is to retain about one thousand to furnish the Castle of Knaresborough, if it shall be necessary. It was not before 1222, that the discharged constable, Brian de Insula, obtained his release of the debts due for the issues of the Castle and manor; and then he shows that he had spent much money in the work of the Castle. As we shall see, there was further reparation in 1226. The beginning of this extraordinary care for the preservation of a rule of force is an unwritten but eloquent admission of the then reality of popular power. We must remember that Magna Charta was just at hand, and that the people were undauntedly asserting their supremacy in the state. It is no mere imagination which sees in the construction of Knaresborough Castle a fear that the dominant power, which sought to rely upon brutality, felt itself to be overturned, and that a place of refuge must be created to shelter obstructive officials, and all the instruments of class-rule, who would have to meet the dreadful possibility of the vengeance a people would wreak if their demands of reform were not granted. Public

THE KEEP OF THE CASTLE.

opinion could not be met intelligently; it had to be resisted by stone walls and force of arms. Had there been newspapers in those days we should have heard of indignation meetings, and government candidates receiving adverse votes from the audiences they addressed. The era of castle building in England is not less conclusive evidence of the political status and unsubdued resistance of the populace than is Magna Charta itself the enduring evidence that a law-abiding people insisted upon having a law which was worthy of the recognition of freemen.

In 1201, King John was roaming the country, and we find in his itinerant train William de Stuteville, Seneschal of Knaresborough, Robert



KNARESBOROUGH.

de Turnham, of Bramham, Hugh Bardolf, Eustace de Vesci, of Malton, Simon de Pateshull, and other magnates. Their journey was a mere round of sport. Huntsmen with their hounds and falconers with their birds accompanied the King everywhere. He was literally using the whole country as a hunting-field. On the death of William de Stuteville, in 1203, his lands were given to Nicholas, his brother, for a fine of 10,000 marks, including the sum of 2,100 marks which he owed to the King, except Boroughbridge and the Castle of Knaresborough, which were retained in the King's hands as a security for the fine. On the 21st December, 1205, the Sheriff of York was ordered to return the forest into the King's hands in the state it was when King Henry gave

it to William de Stuteville; and in such state he shall give it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who will hold it by his bailiffs. This order is clearly directed against the changes of tenure and service which had occurred in the interval, to the detriment of the King. Shortly afterwards the King appointed one of his roystering comrades, Brian de Insula, of Harewood, constable of the Castle. Brian was a favourite. He had been chief forester of the counties of Nottingham and Derby. In 1204, the King gave him to wife, the daughter and heiress with all her lands of Thomas, son of William Seleby, in the county of Lincoln, (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 8.) In 1205 Brian gave to the King 3000 marks for having the wife of Norman de Camera of Lincolnshire with her inheritance. Warin Fitzgerald was one of his pledges; Robert de Insula, Alan de St. George, and Fulk de Cantilupe were others. (*Fine Rolls* 240.) The defalcations now began to come to light. It is surprising how little money value the honour was of in those days. In 1190, the King gave to William de Stuteville £11 in Cnaresburc; in 1217, the Sheriff rendered account of £60 new rent for Knaresborough and Boroughbridge; and in 1220, Bertram de Bulmer, then Sheriff, rendered account of £64 for those places, and for the land which had belonged to Hugh de Morville a further sum of £19. If, however, the lands were then low in pecuniary value, the verdure and wealth of trees must have been magnificent; it was notorious in the sixteenth century, when Drayton wrote:—

> Outflowes the nimble Nyde,
> Through Nydersdale along, as neatly she doth glide
> Towards Knaresburg on her way.
> Where that brave forest stands,
> Entitled by the toune, who with upreared hands
> Makes signs to her of joy, and doth with garlands croune
> The river passing by.

The picturesque situation of Knaresborough has always commended itself to the lover of scenic beauty, as unsurpassed by the most famous of our landscapes; it has been held to be unequalled even in Yorkshire except by majestic Richmond. Brian de Insula created some stir among the adjoining owners by his zeal for the King's service. An example of rapacity had been set him. In 1199, Richard de Bonville gave to the King his war-horse for having an inquest of lawful men to ascertain whether he was disseized of the town of Denton justly by the will of the King or by his bailiffs. This example Brian was not slow to copy. In 1201, Nigel de Plumpton had to give 15 marks and a palfrey for having his land within the forest of Knaresburgh, of which Brian had disseized him as being Master of the Forest; but Nigel having given security for the fine, was to have the lands restored to him. King John was drawing a considerable revenue from the royal forests. In 1202 he re-appointed Hugh Neville to the Wardenship of the royal forests throughout all England, as he had held it in the time of Henry II.; and in the next year we find that at Chambray he received from Neville one thousand marks out of the issues of the forests. In the next year

there was power granted to Neville of demising of the green woods and assarts within the forests. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 1, 2.) This appears to have been the power out of which dissentions arose between the grantees and the local officials. In 1206 Thomas de Arden gave 60 marks and a palfrey for having his part of the land which Ralph de Glanville gave to William de Stuteville in marriage with his grand-daughter Bertha; and Brian having obtained security was ordered to give Thomas full seizin. And so John Lackland and Brian the officious managed to supply the deficits of the royal treasury. Peter de Brus gave 25 marks and a palfrey for having seizin of the land of Lofthus, which is of his fee and did belong to William de Sauceye, who is beyond sea against our Lord the King with his enemies. As a manœuvre to avoid the consequences of his treason, William de Stuteville had taken this land of De Sauceye to farm for eight years, of which a moiety had then passed. But this mattered little. When Peter shall have given security he shall have seizin of the land.

These irregularities brought about one great change in the bounds of the forest. By charter dated at Westminster, 27th March, 1204, the King utterly disafforested all the forest of Whervedale of all things which belonged to the forest or the foresters, granting the men living therein and their heirs freedom from all things belonging thereto. The troubles of De Brus did not then, however, cease entirely, for next year, 1206, we find him giving two palfreys and two beagles for having half a carucate in Burne and Walplo which he claimed to belong to his land in Lofthus. Brian having taken security was to give him his seizin. These bribes of palfreys and hounds are very indicative of the manners of the times; and it is pleasant to see how they are sometimes enhanced by the influence of the tender passion. In 1208, we find Henry de Fountains giving a Lombard horse of price for having the King's command directed to Henry Fitz Hervey that he should give him to wife his daughter, the widow of Walter de Bolebec, if he (de Fountains) shall first have made a fine with the King for marrying her. Hugh de Balliol was to be the pledge. John loved bribes for their material worth, but those which most touched his kingly soul were bribes of horses and dogs:—

> Of Diomede's stabyll he brought out a rabill
> Of coursers and rounces, with leapes and bounces,
> And with mighty luggynge.

Of the sale of women he had but little compunction.

The extortions in the neighbourhood of Knaresborough during the year 1205 were numerous, and to the Crown remunerative; yet at the same time they are highly illustrative of the internal condition of the forest. Nigel de Plumpton was again mulcted. He had to give a palfrey for having, until the King shall come to York, seizin of his land of Rothferlington and Ribbeston, with the appurtenances of the same town, taken into the King's hands as waste of the forest. Brian de Insula, Alexander de Rofham, and Alexander de Dorset are commanded

to give him this land until then, when they shall inform the King of the truth of the matter. Adam de Staveley gave 60 marks and a palfrey for having seizin of three carucates of land in Farnham and 50 acres in Staveley, whence he was disseized by command of the King. Brian and his companions are ordered to return to him the lands, having accepted security for the 60 marks; and it is to be noticed that Brian is to account for the money. He had already forfeited confidence, and his position was becoming scarcely tenable. Roger de Bosco—his comrades and neighbours called him at t'wood, he was of Swinsty, and most likely a "Forster of the Fee," hence his name—gave ten marks for seizin of a carucate of land in Lofthouse, one in Burton, and a mill in Killinghall, whence he was disseized by command of the King. Brian and his companions are to accept security and give him seizin. In the name of Killinghall, a Saxon clan-station, we have a fresh peep at the Teutonic Colonisations, and that a mill is found there at so early a period is a distinct mark of the first political organisation. Killinghall has been an outpost pushed from Knaresborough to the verge of the moors; and it is significant that the next occupation beyond it, Hampsthwaite, is Danish. Where the mill was found in Norman times, there the Saxon had halted and consolidated his power. His successor had to find new ground in the further wilderness. Walter del Wood was a carpenter more than a century later than the above dispute, and the name still survives at Timble. Bernard de Rippelle gave 60 marks and a palfrey for having an inquest of lawful men in the neighbourhood of Killinghall, which is in the King's hands, but said to be of the right of Bernard and for having seizin of the land if the inquest shall give it to him; and for having a writ *de morte antecessoris* of a carucate of land in Lofthouse and a mill in Killinghall. The climax of dissatisfaction quickly followed. On the 1st March, 1209, the King informs the constable and garrison of the Castle that he has committed the Castle and honour to Robert de Burgate, bailiff of the Archbishop; he is to hold them during pleasure and as Brian de Insula held them. In 1212, the King was compelled to order an enquiry into the extortions of the sheriffs and bailiffs of the counties of York and Lincoln (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 4).

Such was the state of affairs at Knaresborough when John and his Queen came to visit the Forest in his incessant pursuit of sport. On the 15th February, 1206, while stopping at Richmond, he orders Brian to cause the abbot and monks of Fountains to have 8s. in the land of the socage of Cnaresburgh, in Kyrkeby Useburne, which William de Stuteville gave them. He then goes into accounts—which for thriftless John is a worthy exercise—and allows £4 19s. 3d. and three "bacons" and six "porcos de Frescang," 18 quarters and 1 bushel of oats, also 4 quarters of oats and 2½ skeps of wheat, and 3 tuns of wine "for our expenses at Cnaresburg on the Monday before Ash-Wednesday." He moreover further allows 42s. 7½d., 1 skep of wheat, 2 skeps and 2 bushels of oats, 3 bacons, and 1 "pork-Frescang" for the expenses of the Queen there. He then proceeds to complain of the state of the

Castle buildings, ordering them to be repaired. He had been taking money, too, at Cnaresburg, for on the 18th February, when at Carlisle, he admits that on the Tuesday before Ash-Wednesday, "in our chamber at Cnaresburg," he received a part of the fine made by the men of Beverley—fines were the readiest machinery of supply, John found fault, and inflicted punishment, when lo! the Exchequer was supplied. It was a miserable England which writhed under such legislation as this. Our "rude forefathers," had some little reason as we see, for insisting upon Magna Charta. John pays another visit to Knaresborough, and on the 9th March is at Nottingham, where he audits Brian de Insula's accounts, and allows £6 13s. 8d. money paid, 93 quarters and 2 bushels of replaced oats (*de instauro*), given to 42 of our own palfreys while stopping at Knaresborough, and in expenses of their coming from Knaresborough to Nottingham, and in 30s. 1½d. expenses of eleven beagles 3 "vealtri" and 6 dogs "de mota" for 20 days; and in entertaining William, Earl of Sarum, our brother, for one night, 23s. 10d. and 4½ quarters and 2 bushels of oats (*Misæ Rolls*).

Then, a twelvemonth after this, we have a highly fragrant piece of information—18th Aug., 1207—the King orders William de Cornhill, Archdeacon of Huntyngdon, to send to Brian de Insula 20 "dolia" of our wine bought in Holland, to store at Cnaresburg, and 5 dolia to be sent to York, to go thence to Lancaster and Dereby. Brian was to take the wine and charge the carriage to the Exchequer. A dolium of wine is a somewhat uncertain measure; it was most probably the modern hogshead, and the 20 dolia may therefore have exceeded five thousand gallons! Ye Gods! but there has been high feasting held within the precincts of the Castle in these olden times of frugal simplicity. "Oh! tell me, ye mortals, what pleasure so fine, as the haunch of a buck and a cup of rich wine." Corpore de Baccho! but they did not "drink the red wine with the helmet barred," when they had to replenish such cellars as these. What a rousing chorus would burst through the vaulted corridors when the hunters "were filled with old wine and the toothsome flesh of wild beasts!" John Lackland, notwithstanding his defects, was clearly a bountiful tapster. Probably touching this matter, we have a curious entry in 1247. The King ordered the Sheriff of York to sell all the old wines belonging to him in that bailiwick; and the same order is also given to the Sheriffs of Northampton and Nottingham (*Abb. Rot. Orig.* i. p. 11). Those in York were to be sold by the view of the mayor, bailiffs, and other *probi homines* of the city.

As a hunting ground, John enjoyed the Forest of Knaresborough even more than as a means of replenishing his empty coffers. He again visited the castle in May, 1209. It was apparently for his pleasure that "the park below the castle" was enclosed. The act was only completed by means of a legal outrage. We learn from the *Hundred Rolls* "that the Earl of Richmond included a great portion of the common of the sokemen of Knaresborough within the park of Haye; and he stopped up two King's highways which led through the middle of the park."

The same consideration doubtless caused Heywra Park to be enclosed; and goodly hunting grounds they both were. We have a verbal description of them in the same century, which enables us to comprehend that matter; we have a measurement of Heywra at the present time, and it shows the park to include 2,245A. 1R. 16P. "There is a park there called Hay Park, containing in circuit about five hides; and also another park called Heywra Park, containing in circuit about eight hides." In his construction of those parks John was not so unscrupulous as his successor. He at least paid some show of respect to popular rights. In 1224, we learn that the men of Killinghall, Felliscliffe, Birstake, and Gresteinura have their common of pasture specially reserved to them by the King in his pastures of Sywerdherges and Heyra, as they were wont to have in King John's time, when enclosures were stoutly resisted. We find William de Cornburc and others getting themselves into some trouble at the instance of the Church of St. Mary's, York, whose liberties were interfered with by the pulling up of some hedges. The matter seems to have been evaded by Richard de Wiall giving half a mark that he may not swear (*Abb. Plac.*, 93).

John was again at Knaresborough on the 13th June, 1212, Wednesday after the feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle, when there is expended 20d. in hire of a two-horse cart carrying the harness and money of the garderobe, journeying for two days, namely, from Tykehulle to Rowell, and thence to Knaresborough. On Thursday, 14th, we find the expenses of twelve brachs (hounds) and three persons of Robin de Samford stopping at Cnaresburg for one night 12d. The carts with the money went from Knaresborough to Richmond. The journey lay through the wildest districts of Yorkshire; and that it could be performed in one day does not speak meanly of the condition of the roads. It was on one of these occasions, as we learn from the life of St. Robert of Knaresborough, that the sportive King paid the hermit a visit in his cell. John was having another mighty hunting here on Friday and Saturday, 7th and 8th September, 1212, and fortunately of this adventure we have some rather instructive details. The King was a hard rider; he had ridden from Durham to Knaresborough in one day—a distance of 65 miles. While at Beverley he bought of Gilon de Pampeluna, the bowman, five Spanish horses, for which he gave the large price of £8. His concomitants at Knaresborough were a hunting retinue of magnificent size. In the Royal Treasury accounts we find the expenses of 49 valtrar' and 1 bern', and Ferling, the hunter, who has 6½d. a day; of 182 leporar'—beagles, perhaps, and not greyhounds, for he calls them "grues," as many people do nowadays—and 38 dogs "de mota," going by the King's command from Kingeshagh towards Knaresborough for two days; the sum of 39s. 7d. being paid to William Richardson (*Misæ Rolls*).

We have direct evidence of what kind of beasts of chase there were then in the forest. The last wild boar was killed in the "Boar Hole" in Heywra Park in the reign of Charles II. Wolves were met with; they were accustomed to trouble Robert the Hermit, and the Canons of

Bolton paid for the killing of one in 1306. They had been terribly abundant and ravenous; but they cannot have been plentiful at this time, for during these hunting expeditions we find the King elsewhere paying sums of 5s. each for the finding and killing of a wolf, and as that sum would represent about £6 of present money, it cannot be supposed that the reward could be very readily earned. That they were, however, far from being destroyed, we have the patents of 1280 to shew, wherein the King "grants that Peter de Corbett may catch wolves through all the King's forests in divers counties," as also may John Gifford of Brymmesfield. Gifford was a man of intrepidity, and doubtless exceedingly fit for the service. In 1272, he carried off Matilda de Lungespee, a baroness, from her manor of Caneford, and took her to his castle of Brymmesfield. In 1218, Ralph Fitz Henry, who married Alice, daughter and heir of Adam de Staveley, made a fine of 60 marks for the lands which belonged to Adam in Staveley, Lofthus, and Farenham, held by him in capite and now descended to the said Alice (*Ex. Rot. Fin.*, i. p. 14). Robert Lupus—the Wolf—constable of Knaresborough, is ordered to take security of Ralph for the fine and then give him possession; Ralph to answer for the relief of one Knight's fee and a quarter which Adam held in capite. This Robert Lupus, son of Matilda Bardulf, was nephew of Robert Bardulf. The fact of his maternity gives him a local origin, and perhaps leads up to the probability that his cognomen was not ancestral, but owing to some circumstance in his life. He seems to have acquired land by marriage, as was the habit of many a *novus homo* both before and after him. In 1213, Ralph de Greseley made a fine of 500 marks for having the land of Robert de Muscamp, father of Isabella, Ralph's wife, and that he might marry his daughter Agnes to Robert Lupus; but if by chance he may not have her, the father will marry her with the approval of the King.

The fine had due effect. The Sheriffs—among them being the Sheriff of York—are ordered to take security, and in all probability Agnes Greseley quickly became the bride of Robert the Wolf, for the King orders the Sheriff of Nottingham to free Agnes to the safe custody of eight lawful knights until the Feast of St. Michael, 1214, by which time the father shall have found the fine. Robert seems to have married, secondly, in 1233-4, Agnes, daughter of Hugh de Samford—Robin de Samford was John's huntsman—and gained other lands with her. In 1219, Lupus is ordered to give full seizin "to our uncle W., Earl of Sarum, or his messenger bearing these letters," of the lands and fees which belonged to Eustace de Vescy in the marches of the Castle of Knaresborough, but to retain in our hands the lands and fees which belong to the Castle. We may follow this transaction a few years, and then find "a romance of the forest" connected with it. In 1243, the Sheriff of York is commanded to take into the King's hands all the lands which Nicholaa de Stuteville had in dowry of the heirship of Eustace de Stuteville, formerly her husband. William de Percy made a fine of 100 marks for the wrong-doing in marrying, without the King's license,

Nicholaa de Stuteville, who was in the King's gift (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, i. p. 5). Lupus appears to have died in 1247, when Galfrid Dispensator made a fine for the custody of his Manor of Carleton until the age of the heir.

In the civil troubles of John's reign, ending in Magna Charta, there was confusion at Knaresborough. Matters ecclesiastical seem to have been as unsettled as things secular. In the octaves of Holy Trinity, 1212, there is an assize to inquire if William de Valoines unjustly disseised Henry de Burtun of his free tenement in Burtun. The jurors said that the town of Burtun was formerly a member belonging to the town of Burg, which was the King's demesne, and that Uctred, father of the said Henry, and Ugge, his grandfather, had always held that tenement by service of rendering yearly for every bovate of land 12d., and doing two "azaras" at the lord's keep, and three boon days at the lord's keep in autumn, to wit, for each bovate 1 scythe (*falcem*). They also say that his ancestors always could marry their daughters without redemption and without license to freemen or others at their pleasure, and therefore it is considered that this tenement is free, and that Henry was disseised of his free tenements, and that William is in default, damages half a mark. Afterwards the King, at the petition of William, caused 24 men to be summoned to convict these men of perjury. The judgment was taken, but they agreed with the 12, and therefore Henry may have his seizin, and William was cast in damages, 100 marks. (*Abb. Plac.* 86.) In the Michaelmas term, 15 John, 1212, Juliana, who was the wife of Nigel de Plumpton, seeks that Peter de Plumpton, against the concord made between them and granted in the King's Court, disseised the said Juliana of a carucate of land called Ran, and her capital messuage of Ribestein, and of 32s. rent in Ribestein, and of one culture called Croswett, and of a culture of Shadewell, &c., and he took away her chattels to the value of 15 marks, and he carried away as much wheat that from these were given seven waggons of tithes, and it was valued at 40 marks. The Sheriff was directed that she have a writ of seizin, &c. They afterwards agreed among themselves that she should grant to him all the land of Ribestein and four carucates in Ran, and the land of Shadewell, viz., Sedecoc, and whatever she had there, viz., in rent and domain, and she remitted to him one mark of four marks which she ought to have in the mill of Plumpton, &c., and he remitted to her similarly 15 acres of land in Ribestein, viz., in the Essart, which belonged to Walter de Stockel, and five acres of the 36 acres of the field of Plumpton. (*Ibid* 91.)

In 1215, John gave to Nostel Priory "the church of Cnaresburc, with its lands, tithes, and chapels," saving to Alexander de Dorset, clerk, "the possessions which he has in his church of Cnaresburc so long as he shall live." (*Rot. Claus.*) This gift had been anticipated in a manner which requires explanation. In the pleas of Easter Term, 13th Edward I., it is told to the Prior of St. Oswald, before the King's Council at Salop, upon the showing of a charter of King Henry I., dated 1121, of

the donation of 12d. from day to day out of the farm of Eboracshire, and of the churches of Bamburgh, Cnaresburgh, and Tykehull, and of land in Fleteham and Heleford, that he may go for the church of Tykehull *sine die.* (*Abb. Plac.* 207.) On the 2nd September, 1215, the King orders Brian de Insula to permit the Earl of Albemarle to have without hindrance whatever belongs to his castle and manor of Skipton-in-Craven, as well in lands and pastures as in other things, but that he retain to the King's use "whatever belongs to our Castle of Knaresburgh." Brian's dismissal soon followed this. John was again at Knaresborough in January, 1216. On the 27th February, 1216, Galfrid de Neville, the King's Chamberlain, is ordered that of the lands which Brian assigned for the wages of the bowmen and sergeants serving in the Castle of Knaresborough he shall hold the rents in payment of those wages, and that "out of the land of our enemies" he should provide without delay for Leodgarius de Diva, Constable of Knaresborough, £20 in land, to support himself in the King's service. Brian's high-handed conduct had brought him into trouble. The Plumptons, who were master foresters, seem to have aroused his anger. In the beginning of the wars between John and the Barons, Brian of his own accord disseised Robert, son of Uckeman (and a kinsman of the Plumptons), of two bovates and 38 acres of land in Clint, and caused them to be held in villainage. This wrongful act was not remedied until the reign of Henry III., when Alice, wife of William de Goldesburgh, sister of Robert, stirred into the matter, and seizin was given to William and Alice, as Robert had it before Brian disseised him. This rapacity was the disgust of the whole forest. In 1213, Robert de Percy had to complain of the King's bailiffs. He gave four good palfreys for having the King's letters patent granting him warren in all his lands of Bolton and Sutton, so that they lie without the forest. He obtained a writ of prohibition addressed to all the bailiffs and the King's faithful people, inflicting upon them a penalty of £10 if any of them impeded him. (*Rot. Fin.* p. 481.)

Brian was dismissed his appointment, but the punishment was not lasting. In 1220, he was appointed Chief Forester of England. He was reappointed to the Castle on the 30th May, 1223, to hold the town and manor and also Boroughbridge during the King's pleasure, and at the old rent of £50. He again fell in 1226. The Archbishop of York had custody of the Castle as Warden, Brian being summoned before the Barons of the Exchequer at Easter to answer for his receipts while in custody of the Castle. He had neglected the fabric, for the Archbishop is commanded that in reparation of the King's houses within the Castle he shall expend £10, and return the remainder of the revenues to the Exchequer. From the date of this appointment Archbishop Walter de Grey resided much within the Castle. He appointed as his sub-custos, Adam de Stavele, who in 1227 rendered account of £42 4s. 6d., the King's rents of Knaresburgh and Boroughbridge for that year. We find him also busy replacing and increasing the stores of the Castle. He

pays 11s. for 7 "cablis" for the stone-mangonels (*ad petrarias de mangonell)*; 30s. for a "custum" placed in the horse-mill in the Castle; and for 4 baldricks and one "turnum" and other things necessary to the "balistas" he pays 13s. 4d. He also buys 17 steers and some corn of Falkes de Breaute at Harewood; and for "cendals" (silk hangings) for covering the King's chamber he paid 7s. 2d. In the troublous times of Magna Charta Falkes had rendered the King good service, and by him had been put in possession of many of the castles of the rebellious barons. The forest and neighbourhood shared in the revolt. Roger de Jarpeville and Robert de Coleville, ambassadors of the Barons, objected to be sent to the King to treat of peace. The King ordered possession to be taken of the chattels of all people throughout the kingdom, who declined to swear with the 25 barons according to the form contained in the charter of liberties granted to enquire into and stop the knavish customs of sheriffs and their officers in forest and warrens, and to sell their chattels as a subsidy for the Holy Land. In 1216, Falkes had a grant of the manor of Luton which belonged to Baldwin, Earl of Albemarle *(Cal. Rot. Pat.* 6*)*. But a change came over this. In 1223, there is a safe-conduct granted to R., Earl of Chester and Lincoln, G., Earl of Gloucester, W., Earl of Albemarle, J., Constable of the Castle, Robert de Vetriponte, Falkes de Breaute, Brian de Insula, and Inghram de Cicoingay, belonging to the King. Falkes was appointed warden of the Castle of Lincoln. In the administration of the affairs of the Craven fee Knaresborough was frequently concerned. In 1240 the King took the homage of William de Fortibus, son of William de Fortibus, formerly Earl of Albemarle, and granted him the Castle of Cockerham, Skipton-in-Craven, and Skipse in Holderness. In 1248 there were patents granted for the Countess of Lincoln, who was formerly wife of W. Earl Mareschal; for Amice, who was the wife of Baldwin de Insula, formerly Earl of Devon, and Baldwin, his son and heir; for William de Valencia, brother of the King, and his wife, one of the heirs of Walter Mareschal, formerly Earl of Pembroke. Baldwin de Insula, son and heir of Baldwin, formerly Earl of Devon, was a forest owner. William de Fortibus died in 1259. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 23, 24.)

Adam and his ecclesiastical superiors were maintaining like rule in 1229. The Archbishop's tenure throws much light upon the contemporary history of the forest. On the 26th February, 1230, he records that with the consent of the King and of Mr. John Romanus, sub-deacon of York, whom he instituted to the Chapel of Hamesthwait at the King's presentation, he assigned to Roger de Essex, for life, the corn and hay tithe of Padeside, Tornthueit, Menewit, Langescales, Birslade, Fellisclive, Farnhille, Raudon, and Grastenuro, in the name of his simple benefice, which the said Roger afterwards leased to Mr. J., the sub-dean of York, for his life for five marks a year. He is to have no more from the same chapel while Mr. J. lives. This record tells us that the whole of the corn and hay grown in these townships was only worth 50 marks (£33 6s. 8d.), which is an astonishing fact, even if we consider the then

value of money as twenty times greater than at present. (*Gray's Reg.*, *Sur. Soc.*)

Another act of restitution to the Plumptons was done in 1226, when the Sheriff of York was ordered to permit Robert de Plumpton to have his land of Plumpton, within the forest of Cnaresburgh according as he was wont to hold it, and not to vex or molest him. The Archbishop of York, then warden, was ordered that he cause Robert de Ros to have two "capriolos"—wild bucks—within the forest by the King's gift. And so the stories of right and wrong, which, however, are evidences of development, continue to be told. While the heather bloomed on the hills, and the blithe troll of the forester supplemented the songs of the birds, the lazy wreaths of smoke rising from the cottages in the dales, the clang of the blacksmith's hammer, the clank of the ponderous mill-wheel, and, above all, the merry clash of the Sabbath bells in the valley, told that even then man was living in increasing prosperity, and pushing his domain further and still further into the thither wilderness. Of the sturdy yeomen typified by Henry de Burton the forest had enough and to spare. In the ranks of early chivalry its children were also to be found. At the close of the reign of Richard, we find four of them joined in some mission—Matthew de Bram, Richard de Goldsburc, Alan de Stanley, and Walter de Stockeld. (*Abb. Plac.* 98). In 1241, there was another embodiment of the military power of the forest and neighbourhood; when William de Cantilupe, junior, John de Gray, Phillip Basset, and Paulin Peyvre, were appointed constables and leaders of the King's Knights, sent to the King in Poictou. In 1246, we find that Brother Robert de Sykelinghall is the King's Treasurer at the New Temple, London, where the King's money is deposited. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 21.) These race-names are the starting-points of many a forest incident. In the Easter Term, 4th Edw. I, there is a plea, *sine die*, of Agnes, daughter of Alan de Stanley, for 15 tofts and 8 bovates of land and a mill in Farnham, with costs against Hugh Fitz-Henry; and another of John de Hinton for four tofts, a garden, 60 acres of land, seven acres of meadow, and the third part of a mill, and costs against the same Hugh. (*Abb. Plac.* 189.)

In the above extracts from contemporary records we see that the forest, although a hunting field of the first magnitude, was not the mere wilderness its name implies. When, Henry III. gave the manors of Knaresburgh and Aldburgh to his brother Richard, King of Alimann, they are said to have been worth £100 per ann. On the banks of the streams, at least, human habitations were fixed and agriculture was followed. But it was in the main a wild and lawless country, having but too few of the elements of civilisation operating within it. The Castle became the centre of sale, barter, hard bargains, and extortion. On the 27th September, 1213, John was at Cnareburc; where he, William Briwere being present, permitted Hugh de Balliol to find two knights to be at the King's service and command on this side of the sea or elsewhere as the King may think, to serve for a whole year

with horses and arms, if he may have a quittance of the fourscore marks due to the King of the debt of Hugh's father. (*Rot. Fin.* 490.) Men were so cheap at that time that they were not likely to be very scrupulous. In the early history of the forest we have but the least reference to religious matters. On the other hand, we have plenty of allusions, direct or indirect, to the poaching of those days; and besides mention of the gaol at Knaresborough Castle, we have reference to other and not less severe measures. When, according to the old ballad, the King in his ride met the Tanner of Tamworth—whom we may restore to his native heath, and call the Barker of Braham—he asks the way to Drayton Basset—otherwise Spofforth—and is answered—

> To Drayton-Basset woldst thou go
> Fro the place where thou dost stand?
> The next payre of gallowes thou comest unto
> Turne in upon thy right hand.

And so we may read that between the house of the Plumptons, the master foresters—having three wolves' heads in their armorial bearings—and the Castle of Knaresborough, gallows were erected in more places than one; and the forest laws tell us what they were erected for. The forest was greatly deficient in religious instruction, as well as in the social improvements which in their early days the monastic establishments afforded. There was not within the bounds one single monastery to influence the foresters for good by uncorrupted earnestness. For a time it had its flighty saint, Robert, to offer such an example as his life provided; but he departed from his labours in 1218, and, despite the traditions incorporated in his biography, there does not appear to have been much disposition to install a successor. On the 1st February, 1219, the King ordered the Constable to give to Master Alexander de Dorset, the rector of Knaresborough appointed in the summer of 1208, "Custody of our hermitage of Knaresborough, to whom we commit it during our pleasure." (*Rot. Claus.*) Master Alexander was a staid and ancient official, who had been taught to regard business habits as of much more importance than mere enthusiasm. His transactions only erred from prudence in the paths of rapacity. In 1242, we read of one of his mistakes. Constance Fitz-Alan opposed him on a claim of half a bovate of land in Cutun. The award of the Court was that Constance should receive her seizin against him "by default," and Alexander was "in misericordia." (*Abb. Plac.* 119.) It would appear that he had then resigned his charge at Knaresborough, for in 1233 Archbishop Gray grants the church to Dom. Peter de Rivall as long as he shall live, or in any other way change his life, he paying yearly to the Canon of the prebend of Bechill 10 marks sterling; afterwards the said church shall revert to the said prebend. Peter was a great favourite of the King. In 1231 "he granted him nearly the whole kingdom in one shape or another." He made him Warden of the port of Dover; gave him kingly power in Ireland; made him chief butler of Poictou, and Warden of all the royal forests in England.

There was some clerical dispute after this. Among the pleas of Easter, 1286, is one for the advowson of the church of Knaresborough, on which judgment was given. The judges had decreed, in 1277, that Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, had recovered the advowson, and that the Archbishop was not able to show that it had afterwards reverted to him, either by deed of the Earl or by presentation. He had now merely set up an unsupported claim which could not be admitted, so the King should recover his seizin, and should have a writ to the Archdeacon of Richmond. (*Abb. Plac.* 269.)

The cultivation of the ecclesiastical influence started with the extinction of the hermit. The priory was founded in the thirteenth century, and a few years after that we find the Earl of Richmond giving to the brethren of St. Robert four carucates in Knaresborough of the fee of Richmond; and the same brethren held in Throp 15 bovates of the fee of Brus, of the gift of several people, and the tofts which belonged to the Lepers. In 1234-5 the King granted the castle and honour of Knaresborough to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and Poictou. Peter had then fallen into disgrace. In 1236 the King granted to Robert de Crepping the forests, parks, and hayes of the royal domain in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Lancaster.

When Edward I. sent his Justices throughout the country to inquire into some of the high-handed dealings of the magnates, those who visited Knaresborough pulled up Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, for allowing his bailiffs to trespass by hunting in warren and chace of the forest, and for having custody of the prison there, infangtheof, a gibbet, gallows, pillory, and tumbrill—pretty playthings these for men of arbitrary tendency—by which right kingly acts we learn what the "malefactores" and disturbers of the peace had to expect when they got into the grip of the foresters or their "sergeants," who were lurking in the bowels of the castle—a race not too scrupulous and conscientious, themselves after their own fashion not infrequently being at fault. We may safely complete the picture sketched in the "Hundred Rolls" from the experiences of Mr. Wyllyam of Cloudeslee, who had done a bit of poaching in Inglewood Forest. It is the Sheriff who is spoken of as the performer.

Then went he to the Markett-place,
As fast as he coulde hye;
There a payre of new gallowes he set up
Besyde the pyllorye.

A lytle boy among them asked,
"What means that gallow-tre?"
They sayde, "To hange a good yeman
Called Wyllyam of Cloudeslee!"

But they were not all "good yemen" who got themselves into trouble. We have an instance in 1277 of a knightly malefactor being brought to account for his transgressions. Robert de Balliol made a fine of 100s. for trespass in vert and venison in the forest of Knaresborough. (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, i. p. 36.) For him there was not gallows or gibbet, nor

even the pillory or stocks; but it may be that he was roughly handled, and that his case made some little stir in the world of forestry, for in the same year a case is tried at Westminster, when the superior court gave judgment that a Court Baron had not power to implead any trespass in a park or chase of wild beasts except the person be caught red-handed. In consequence of this another judgment was given against John de Malton, bailiff of the Earl of Cornwall, for trespass at Knaresborough. The forests were fertile grounds of trouble, inviting trespass and abuse when occasion served. In 1264 William de Greyndorge, Adam de Swynesheued, and others, availing themselves of the civil commotions, entered the forest of Schypton in Craven, belonging to William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, then in custody of Prince Edward by the King's commission, and cut down trees therein. They were summoned before the King's Justices for the offence, but they absconded, and the bailiffs of the Wapentake of Staincliffe were ordered to apprehend them. Greyndorge was not a mere vulgar malefactor, but clearly a man capable of appreciating the situation, and prepared to help himself in the scramble of civil turmoil. In 1271, the Sheriff is ordered to summon a jury of twelve men as well knights as free and lawful men of the neighbourhood of Flasseby, to inquire if Robert de Neville had seizin of the manor of Flasseby on the occasion of the trespass by William Greyndorge, in the time of the late troubles; and if William afterwards intruded himself in the manor and subsequently refused to Robert redemption according to the Dictum of Kenilworth; or if the said William at the time of the troubles constantly adhered to the King (*Abb. Plac.* 180).

The Skipton raid was opportune; the Prince was in trouble, and the owners of the castle non-resident. The fee remained in the hands of Prince Edward until after he had ascended the throne. In 1280, he granted to Alianora, his mother, for life, the castle and manor of Skipton, and the manor of Pokelington, co. York, and the manors of Middleton and Dertford, in Kent (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 49). The abuse of power was not peculiar to the secular autocrats; the parish priest is often a defaulter. In the Easter Term, 17th Edward I., Walter, Parson of Letheley, and 19 others, are impleaded by Falcasius de Lindeley, for cutting down his woods and trees in a place at Lyndeleye called Laynde-myre. They say they have common there, therefore it is allowed to them to cut down and bear away; but the jurors say they have not, and they are therefore cast in damages. (*Abb. Plac.* 218).

The acts of the officials recorded at this period were simply scandalous, and a reproach to all government except that of serfs by demons. The government of the forests was most arbitrary. In 1234, John de Neville was appointed Chief Forester and Justiciar of the forests of England. In 1248, Marmaduke Darel was appointed Warden of the King's forests in Yorkshire. (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 18.) Their power as exhibited by their subordinates was nearly irresponsible. The bailiffs of Knaresborough, in or about 1256, withdrew all the services of the

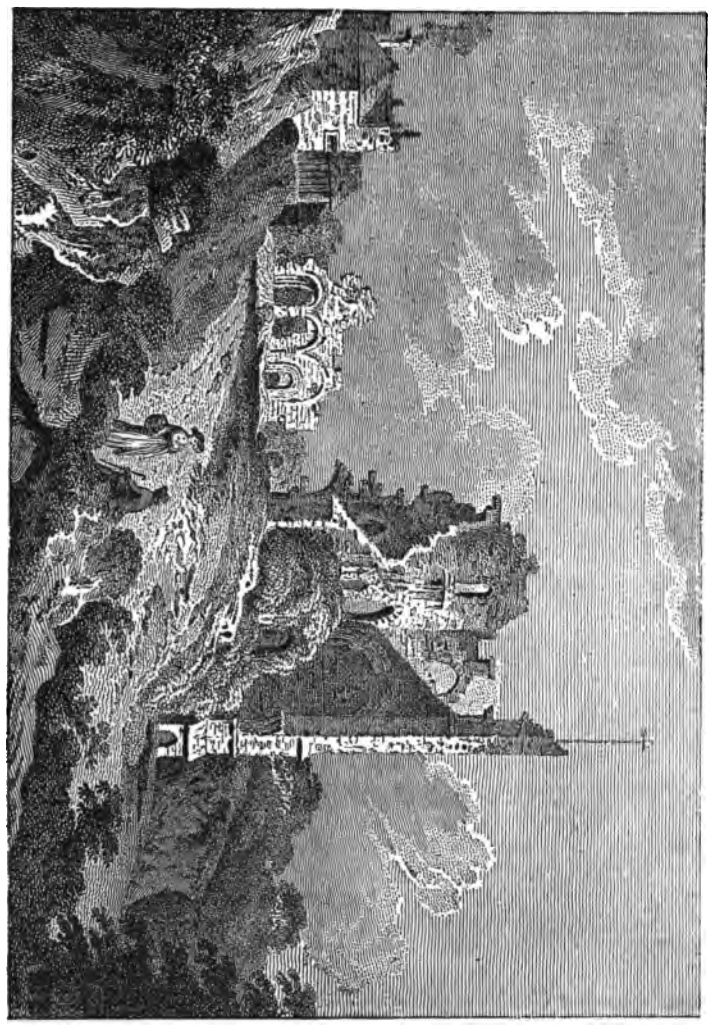
towns of Over-Timbel, Belay, Castelay, Snitton, Kesewick, Rigton, and Stayneburn, which were within the bounds of the forest and used to be taxed. At the same time the Earl of Cornwall, during the rule of William de Ireby, his seneschal, had usurped gallows and assize of bread and beer. Henry de Perpunt, the Earl's seneschal of Knaresborough, would not permit the King's bailiffs to enter the liberty or land of the King, to exercise any office there, and much more within the bounds of the forest. Perpunt was an official of the most disreputable order. He took of Henry Lochen, a public thief, eight marks a year for having his countenance *(advocatione)*. He took Thomas de Skinling, a man of Thirsk, and imprisoned him for taking a doe which he found in his own garden, and then received of him a bribe of a mark to stay prosecution. Ireby was also a rapacious governor. The jurors said that the water of Use from Boroughbridge to York was in all time free until William de Ireby, seneschal of the Earl of Cornwall at Knaresburgh, levied toll, and a heavy passage, by which the people are much vexed. Luke de Taney, who had been the King's seneschal in Gascony, and seneschal of Knaresburgh, apprehended Bateman, of Apeltrewyk, for having stolen two cows. Bateman offered to acquit himself by inquiry of four of the neighbouring villages, but he could not be heard until he had given Luke five marks, and three marks to John Sampson, bailiff of the Countess of Albemarle, at Skipton. The jurors also said that Liolfhanne, Staingartes, Westtout, between Knaresburgh and Setton and the town and field of Knaresburgh, are in liberty to the middle of the course of the Nidd, and beyond the forest, and used to be common to all, but Ralph de Grenham has stopped it. (*Rot. Hund.*) In 1281, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, gave to the King 7000 marks for custody of the lands and tenements which belonged to Baldwin Wake; and those were of the ancient fee of the Stutevilles. There can be no wonder that rapacity was compelled to follow such bribes as these.

The greatest abuses of the various offices were of continued existence. The rangerships of the forest were of almost solemn importance, being in the direct gift of the King himself. They were in consequence capable of being converted to very lucrative uses, and were, of course, clung to with tenacity. Not a few of the forest families owe their start in greatness to these offices. The foresters had the disposal of the falls of timber, as we learn in 1304, when the King ordered Milo de Stapleton, constable of Knaresborough, to sell timber up to the sum of £40 "by the view and testimony of Henry de Screvyn and Thomas Russell, our foresters there." (*Abb. Rot. Orig.* i., p. 144.) So it came to pass in more instances than one in the forest that the blooming woodland lassie who gained health and beauty in the lonely brakes and glades, who trained her roses and honeysuckles up to the thatch of the forester's cottage, and whose foot brushed aside the pearly dew that gathered on the purple heather, should become a wife meet for a knight. As the inferior posts were desirable, much more so were the superior; they were the rewards of the mighty. The King recalled

Piers Gaveston in 1307, made him Earl of Cornwall, and gave him the domain of Holderness, and the Castle, town, and honour of Knaresborough, with the free chase and the manors of Routhecliffe and Aldburgh. Gaveston was scarcely settled in his forest castle before the King came to him as a guest. Edward was at Bowes on the 6th Sept., 1307, at Knaresborough on the 10th, and at York on the 13th. In 1309, the King commanded the Sheriff of York to take into the King's hands the Castle, manor, and honour of Knaresborough, with the free chase; and the manors of Routhecliffe and Aldburgh, which Piers de Gaveston held for life. Next year he granted these offices to William de Vaus to be held during pleasure (*Ibid* 186). In 1311, Gaveston was granted the castle of Scardeburg. On the 21st January, 1312, the King, being at York, ordered William de Slengesby, warden of the manors of the Templars of Ribbestayn, that out of their effects he should hand over to the Constable of the castle of Knaresborough 100 qrs. of wheat, 10 qrs. of oats, 20 oxen, 80 sheep, and two iron-bound carts for the munition of the castle (Rymer's *Fœdera* ii., p. 154). A fell deed of kingly weakness, of Papal arrogance, and of episcopal intolerance, had smitten England, with the rest of Europe, before this mandate was issued on the wreck of the unmatched glories of the superb fraternity of the Knights of the Temple.

Now and again we find a slip in the appointments of officials, and strong evidence of intrigue used to obtain them; as we also find baronial usurpation upon the King's rights. In 1300, Henry de Percy points out by the liberty of his barony of Spofforth that the King's bailiffs are wrongfully claiming the manor of Letheley to be within the bounds of the forest; but Henry's demonstration was not happy. In 1313, the King appointed Richard de Merkevale bailiff of the forest, in place of Thomas le Rou, lately dead (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, i., 205). In 1315, this order was found to be irregular, and was promptly revoked. There was sad trouble then in the forest, for famine was universal in the land, and, in addition to its dreadful effects, the consequences of Bannockburn were being felt. Knaresborough was suffering perhaps beyond its neighbours; and, of the sufferers in this town, the ecclesiastics were not the least. On the 23rd August, Archbishop Greenfield made a loan of £20 to Henry de Knaresborough, minister, and his convent of the house of St. Robert of Knaresborough, on account of their great need. The Constable of Knaresborough, William de Vaus, was one of the unfortunates who fell at Bannockburn, so we may know that at least some of the foresters were in the thick of the fight, and we can believe that very few of them returned. In 1333, the widow of De Vaus petitions the Queen on a demand made upon her for the payment of a debt of £144, arrears of her late husband at the time he had the Wardenship of the Castle. "La sue Bourge," as the widow describes herself, beseeches the Queen to forgive this debt, which may only be apparent, for her husband at the time he was slain in the wars lost many acquittances and allowances made on several occasions (*Parl. Rolls*).

Disgust alike with the King and the turn of events was more universal than either loyalty or dread. The men of the forest took affairs into their own hands and broke out into revolt, seizing the Castle, and coercing into rebellion the garrison, then under the personal



THE INTERIOR OF THE KEEP, IN 1806.

command of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. They professed that their action was for the King's good. On the 3rd November, 1317, the King writes to the Earl "complaining of certain malefactors and disturbers of the peace having lately entered into the Castle of Knaresbourgh by

night" and possessed themselves of the same, "with the goods, arms, and victuals found there," and of the garrison of the Castle, to the King's detriment and manifest contempt, "which said malefactors have occupied the premises in your name, at which we wonder very much." If this were done, continues the King, in the Earl's name, but for the King's benefit, the Earl will not thwart the King's wishes, which are that the Sheriff of York, Nicholas de Gray, shall retake possession, and Earl Thomas, as a good subject, is requested to deliver up to him without delay (*Fœdera*, ii., 345). Roger Damory was then appointed constable during the King's pleasure, returning yearly for the office 200 marks. The rebels appear to have deftly covered their retreat, for on the 4th January, 1317-18, the King grants that the Earl of Lancaster and his adherents may safely return to the kingdom without arrest, and there is also an order issued for resuming the Castle of Knaresborough, lately retained by the rebels. The Castle of Skipton was to be retained in the hands of the King; and, as if great joy accompanied the pacification, the "minister" of the house of St. Robert of Knaresborough may enclose and build upon three acres of land in the field of Belmond, within the mêtes of the forest (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 83).

In 1318, the Scots invaded England, sweeping over the forest with the fury and destruction of fiends. Knaresborough was burnt to the ground, and left to tell its tale of sorrow in a petition to the King praying the remission of the Crown rents. Its church still bears the marks of the fire kindled to destroy it.

When Robert Bruce with his brave Scottish band,
By other inroads on the borders made,
Had well-nigh wasted all Northumberland,
Whose towns he level with the earth had laid;
And finding none his power there to withstand,
On the north part of spacious Yorkshire preyed
Bearing away with pride his pillage got,
As fate to him did our last fall allot.

In the restoration of affairs after this melancholy experience, we find that (1318) Godefrid de Alta Ripa may crenellate his house (*camera*) at Elslake in Craven, and in 1319, the King grants a patent "for the Hospital of Knaresburgh." (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 85, 87.) John de Wysham succeeded as constable in 1319. He was appointed during life, returning from the issues 800 marks per annum—an extraordinary advance, and significant of the worst of the old rapacity. (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, i., p. 250.) Wysham eventually did well out of the honour. The King granted him a yearly pension therefrom of 200 marks for life, which Edward III., on his accession to the throne in 1327, compounded. He granted the constable in lieu thereof the Manors of Fulbrik and Westhall, co. Oxon., lately belonging to Hugh le Dispenser, "the rebel," and also the manor of Faxflet, with its members and other appurtenances, in co. York, to hold for life. (*Ibid.* ii., p. 11.) He died in or before 1332.

On the 25th January, 1319-20, the King, being at York, writes to Constable John de Wysham informing him that, by the inquest of Robert de Sapy and Gilbert de Wyggeton, "divers of owners and tenants of our castle and lands in the towns of Knaresburgh, Skrevyn, Burbrigg, Minskypp, Tymble, Clifton, Foston, Thorscross, Menewith, Clynt, Felesclyf, Birstake, Heymthwaythe, Kyllynghall, Roshirst, Bilton, and Nidd, by the burning of their houses, the taking away of their animals and goods by the invading Scots, and for the great part are ruined," and they ask to have the dues of the castle relaxed. In consideration, then, of their desolation and depression, pardon is given for the rents due at Michaelmas up to the sum of £62 3s. 7d., being the amount of the loss certified at the inquest (*Fœdera* ii., 385). Horrible, no doubt, their sufferings had been—as horrible as the sword of vengeance and the frenzy of lust could inflict—yet it must strike us as very strange that the whole of the damage did not amount to a greater pecuniary sum, even when allowance is made for the then value of money. The smallness of the damage enables us to measure the domestic condition of the townships. Exchange of money has been of rare occurrence. The people have led the most frugal of lives, and have depended mainly upon the crops of their fields and the produce of their folds for the support of their families. We are apt to believe that the district was mostly pastoral, and the only evidence we possess of its industrial economy tends to that conclusion. But even this only points out the paucity of the flocks and herds. To the *feræ naturæ* of the forest we must, therefore, look for at least some amount of the sustenance of the people, however it may have been obtained by them.

Amid this poverty and confusion Knaresborough was the scene of some important events. First came the fight at Boroughbridge, and the subsequent execution of Earl Thomas of Lancaster—

> And nothing else remains for us beside
> But tears and coffins only to provide;
> When still as long as Borough bears that name
> Time shall not blot out our deserved shame.

Nothing, however, in the shape of national disaster was equal to correcting the folly of the King. An idle, dissolute life, regardless of his kingly duties, was that to which he abandoned himself. In the year 1323, he was again in the north, where he spent much time. We find him at Pomfret on the 18th February; he moved thence to Knaresborough, where we find him on the 26th and 27th; and it would appear that he remained there, perhaps without even a break, for more than a fortnight. He was certainly in the Castle on the 4th and 9th of March. On the 14th he is present in the Castle, treating for a final peace with a multitude of Scottish delegates (*cum Scotis quamplurimis*, *Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 93); footmen and archers had been summoned to Knaresborough, but on the 15th he left the Castle for the south. A truce "ad verbum" was eventually arranged at York on the 7th June, and the war ended.

The border of the forest was still a scene of trouble; life was often endangered and property was always insecure. Between the extortionate officials and the disreputable bush-rangers, or as the ballads glorified them—

> Yond bright yemen
> In greenwood where they be,

honest men had a bad time of it, a specimen of which they record in 1276. when they complain that John de Arden, while he was bailiff of Ottele, took money of Robert de Balladama for receiving David de Buckele, a public thief. In 1328, some of the old troubles were again to the front. Robert del Isle and others complain that though King

THE WHARFE AT ILKLEY BRIDGE.

John had disafforested the Wharfedale district adjoining the forest, which was not of the fee or lordship of Knaresborough, nor in the forest, nor had been of free chace, yet the King's Foresters charged the district with "Puture" and other forest customs. Although John, by his charter, had disafforested the district, yet since the time of William de Ireby, seneschal of the Earl of Cornwall, who, by extortion and distress "de son tort demeigne," Wharfedale was charged with "Puture de Forestiers" and other charges and customs. And since, by writ to her officers, "Madame Dame Isabelle," the Queen, in whose hand the manor and forest were now, had ordered the abuses to cease, but they had not done so, in consequence of which the complainants appealed to Parliament. The usurpations were ordered to be discontinued (*Rot.*

Parl). Robert was of the old family of l'Isle or de Insula of Rugemont and Harewood, whose estates had been diminished by partition. In 1310, the King took the homage of Agnes, daughter of Robert Lounde, of Harewode, defunct, for all the lands and tenements in Harewode, which the said Robert, her father, held at his death, of the heirship of Robert de Insula, lately dead, who held of King Edward I., *in capite* (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, i. p. 170).

Wysham was succeeded in 1330 by John de Wauton, who held also the farms and issues of the wapentake of Langberg. William de Slingesby, a "forster of the fee," has left us in that same year a reminiscence powerfully illustrative of the social episodes of the forest in a petition to Parliament for a *Writ and Terminer* against John of Clotheram, Robert of Stokesley, and other evil doers, who, while he was out attending to his duty, broke down his doors, entered his house, defouled his wife and children, and took away his goods and chattels to the value of £40, beside doing other damage to the value of £60 (*Rot. Parl*). It is, perhaps, needless to say the writ was granted, and very properly so too; although we may conclude that it was a gross exaggeration to state that he had suffered to the extent of £100. We remember the whole of the damage done by the Scots in their raid not twenty years before.

The old line of Foresters began now to be interrupted to some extent, but their influence was not destroyed. In 1332, the King granted to Benedict de Hill the bailiwick of the forestry of Okeden, in the forest of Knaresborough, to have during pleasure (*Abb. Rot. Orig.* ii., 69). Men of the name of Rous—or Rede, which is the same—were found in the forest nearly a century later, nor was that of Merkevale entirely lost in the above incident. They seem to have been fully restored under Edward III., who hunted the forest on more than one occasion. We find the King at Knaresborough on 1st of December, 1332, and he doubtless had a jovial time there, for he is not noticed in public affairs until the 12th, when he is found at York. He was again at Knaresborough on the 6th April, 1333, this time journeying north, being found at Durham on the 8th. He was again at Knaresborough on the 16th of August of that year, and for a fourth time on the 16th of February, 1336.

There are evidences of firm rule and well-ordered establishment during these periods. In 1330, the King granted his clerk, John de Neusom, the custody of the herbage in Le Hay, Heywra, and Bilton, and of the Little Park under the Castle, and the issues thereof beyond the sustenation of the King's stud (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, ii. 53). In 1335, the King granted to William de Neusom the custody of certain great horses as well as his stud beyond Trent and the herbage in the Parks of Le Haye, Bylton, and Haywra, and those of Ightenhill, co. Lanc., and Macclesfield during pleasure; which was soon exhausted, for in the same year the King appointed his valet Edmund de Thedmarsh. The park at Bilton was then being diminished by enclosures. The same

things were granted to Roger de Normanville in 1334 (*Abb. Rot. Orig.*, ii. 167). In 1334, William de Markevale had the custody of free chase in Knaresborough and in the parks of Hawra, Bilton, and Hay, which came to him in right of Agnes, his wife, one of the daughters of Henry Scriven; and Joan, wife of William de Slingesby, our unlucky acquaintance, is another heir who, with her husband, gave up the land to the said William de Markevale. This was at a time when the "fortalice" in Heywra Park was a Royal hunting lodge, occupied, as we have seen, by the King, and after him by John o'Gaunt and "the Gaunt-born great Lancastrian line," from whom it became known as John o'Gaunt's Castle. It is gone! and Heywra is cultivated. Harrogate now exists, and is of world-wide fame. Gone are all the barons bold; gone are all the knights and squires; but every spot in the forest bears traces of them. The town which has just developed into a borough, entirely eclipsing the two old boroughs, owes its origin to a Slingsby, who in turn owed his origin remotely to Henry de Screvin, one of the old rangers of the Forest of Knaresborough.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

A FEUDAL STRONGHOLD AND ITS VICTIMS.

POMFRET is noted for something besides its cakes, although they are toothsome and difficult to excel, and have a character of their own, like the succulent Barnsley chop, over which they possess this advantage, however, that they are quite as tempting and not so dear. Pomfret is grey with age; its very name is a mystery over which men have wrangled, some choosing the more fashionable word Pontefract, while others, clinging to Pomfret, insist upon the greater correctness of the word continuously used in the speech of the people, than of the compound coined from the mediæval Latin of the scribe. The town is rich in historic memories of a rude time, when blows were as frequent as words, and valour a commoner attribute than it is in these polished days, in which the respectable Englishman relies on the law instead of on his fists. Sauntering along the worn, bouldered streets that lead to the Castle, I marvel at the change that has come over this celebrated borough. In my reverie I ponder over the pageantries of old,—scenes in which "the long vassal train" of knights and nobles were the actors, and the deeds they performed things now only to be restored to memory by application to musty records. I realise one, the commonest of those scenes, a young knight coming to sue for the lands of his dead father. As, for instance, in 1213, when Hugh Bardulf made a fine for relief of the lands which Ralph his father held of the Constable of Chester, whose lands were then in the King's hands and custody of William de Harcourt; the fine being that he should serve the King in Poictou, or where the King shall please, well prepared with horses and arms, from the second Sunday after the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, for

one full year, and for this the King took security by Galfrid de Neville his chamberlain. William de Harcourt, custodian of the honour, is then ordered to give to Hugh full possession. And thus, "visions of the days departed, shadowy phantoms fill my brain," and the grass-grown streets are still occupied by the spectres of the past. That was emphatically an age of force, an age of the law and logic of the sword. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries even the municipal story of the town was one of turmoil and contention. It was too often a struggle between the arbitrary lord and the aspiring tenant, the interruptions of the domestic peace showing how steadily the burgesses were demolishing the feudal exactions. In 1243 Walter Robinson gave 20 marks for a writ that he may enquire concerning the liberties of Pomfret; in 1313 the men of the town made a fine of ten marks for having *Pavagium*—the right of mending their streets and keeping them in order—for five years. In 1346 the bailiff and *probi homines* made a fine of four marks for having letters of pannage—feeding their swine in the woods. And then, beyond these illustrations of the antique life, we have occasionally glimpses of the angularities of feudal rule. In 1290, when Henry de Laci, earl of Lincoln, gave into the King's hands the castle, town, and honour, together with the hamlets, &c., which his mother held in dowry, the King appointed the Prior of St. Oswald warden of the town and castle until further orders.

Now, however, all this seems to be but a dream, or an insult to the memory of the present somnolent town, so quiet and peaceful, no longer disturbed by the hurried tread of men-at-arms, the clash of weapons, and the fierce cries of contending soldiery. The halberd and the pike lie idle, and the most vital questions that come before the people are settled without recourse to the old mode of deciding disputes. The destruction which has happened to its military grandeur has also befallen its ecclesiastical fame. Its once celebrated Priory of St. John the Evangelist, a shrine of honour and dignity, is no longer visible upon the earth. The preaching friars, who once called its people to hearken to the word of God, have the Salvation Army for their modern representatives. The little military chapel of St. Clement within the castle, founded by De Laci, and extended by his successors to a collegiate church, is an atom of the wreck of the fortress. The Anchorites who served the little chapel of St. Ellen are, with their cell, lost even to memory.* The sword rests in its rusty scabbard, and not even in op-

* 28 May, 1486, the King presents, in right of his duchy of Lancaster, Henry Payn to the prebend within the college of St. Clement in the Castle of Pomfret, void by the death of Simon Beryngton, the last incumbent. 23 July, 1486, grant for the term of her life to Ellen Multon, anchorite, within the chapel of St Ellen in the town of Pontefract, of the annual rent of 40/-, which King Edward IV. gave and confirmed to Alice Ripace, anchorite, within the aforesaid chapel. 10th Dec., 1487, presentation of the beloved subject, William Taverner, chaplain, to the pension and salary which Thomas Rowson, chaplain, deceased, lately had in the chapel of St. Elene in the town of Pountfret, for celebrating divine service there; the said pension and salary to be received out of the issues and revenues of the King's honour or township of Pountfret.

position to the vicar's tithe will it be pulled out again. The county court has taken the place of the rapier. Justice is sought in a more civilised fashion than in the desperate times when young gallants had only two occupations—emptying wine cups in pledging fair maidens, and fighting terrible duels in their honour.

Turning back to the faded pages of history I feel impelled to ask, Why do novelists trust so much to imagination when thrilling facts are so plentiful? Pomfret alone could provide material for a score of romances, each more sensational than the most startling of modern dramas. In this old place monarchs have schemed and played the ticklish game of hazard; tragedy has rioted in blood; humour and daring have frolicked in the face of death. No town in England has been the scene of more stirring events; no town in England has evinced more dauntless courage. Its patriotic glories commenced before the Castle was built, and before York had been insulted by the foot of the Norman conqueror. We have one of the most vivid scenes in the invasion of 1069, connected with the old Saxo-Danish town. Whether the latter may be traced in any degree to the thoughtful clause in Roger de Lascy's charter in the twelfth century that "no woman shall give toll in our borough for selling beer,"* is a question worth considering in this goody-goody age.

An evidence of the might of which the castle was the centre and home is given in 1213, when John de Laci, Constable of Chester, is admitted to the lands of Roger his father. John pays to the King, who on the 18th and 19th September was staying in the castle, for those lands, and that he may be quit of all arrears and debts which his father should have paid to the Exchequer, seven thousand marks, a most enormous sum, for it had the purchasing power of £100,000 of present money. It was not, however, to be paid in one sum, but in four yearly instalments; in the first year, £2,000; in the second year, 2,000 marks; in the

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* LUDICROUS BLUNDER.—Allow me to call attention to a remarkable instance of a ludicrous slip by an able and learned writer, due to an unfortunate neglect to consult an original authority. Dr. Whitaker publishes in his "Loidis and Elmete," a copy of the charter granted to Leeds in 1209, and thus translates one of its clauses:—"No woman shall pay custom in our borough who is to be sold into slavery," adding as a foot-note (page 11), "A very liberal truly. If a free woman sold herself (for such must be the meaning of the words) as a slave, the lord graciously remitted the toll due on such a transaction." Dr. Whitaker thus sanctions the opinion that in the thirteenth century an Englishwoman could "sell herself into slavery." But what was the fact? The privileges of Leeds, granted by Maurice Paganel in 1208, were distinctly said to be those enjoyed by the burgesses of Roger de Lacy at Pontefract, as granted in 1194. Now, if there was any doubt as to what those privileges were, what would have been easier than for Dr. Whitaker to have consulted the original charter of 1194, still in existence at Pontefract? Had the learned Doctor done so, he would have obtained much light on many points which were by no means clear to him. That in question is, however, of so singular a character that I select it as the subject of the present note. The translation of De Lacy's charter is, "No woman shall pay toll in our borough for selling beer!" and the unfortunate copying of *servici* for *cerevisia* occasioned this extraordinary blunder.—RICHARD HOLMES, Pontefract.

third year, 1,000 marks; and in the fourth year, 1,000 marks; but, on account of the faithful service of Roger, the father, and for the good and faithful service which the King hopes to have of John, the last thousand marks the King has pardoned. If, however, at any time the service is unsatisfactory, or if, as might happen in those tickle times of treachery and rapine, John should go over to the King's enemies, all his lands and tenements shall return to the King. Twenty Knights of his fee, Jordan Foliot, John de Birkin, William Stapleton, and others, pledge themselves for the fine, continuous service, and good conduct of their lord. If John go over to the King's enemies all the other Knights of the fee holding scutage shall pay in quittance of the fine according to their scutage. If by chance John be absent by God's providence before the fine is paid, they shall hold his lands until the end of the payment. Nor shall John marry without the King's assent, who shall retain in his hands the castles of Pomfret and Donington, to the cost of holding of which for the three years, De Laci shall contribute £40 yearly. An instance of the pomp which marked its affairs is afforded in December, 1245, when John, son and heir of John de Sothull, did fealty for the fourth part of a Knight's fee held in Derton, of John, formerly Earl of Lincoln, whose son and heir is in the custody of the King. The custodian of the honour of Pomfret is ordered to accept security of 20s., and then give seizin of the fee.

The castle, so long the pride of South Yorkshire, was built by the Lacys, but its thrilling history scarcely began until the fortress passed into the hands of the Earl of Lancaster. A sad night of suspense that in March, 1322, when he was checked at Boroughbridge, and waited in the rain for the Scottish allies, by whose aid he hoped to break through King Edward's forces. The battle that followed at dawn was one of disaster to him, for, with ninety other nobles, he was taken prisoner, and arraigned for high treason. What a different result would have followed had the court party been patriotic!

> Boroughbridge had then known not the kindling madness
> Of brethren who fight with the rancour of hate;
> And on Pomfret's hill there had not been the sadness
> Of murder committed mere malice to sate.

Surely no man ever realised to such an intense degree the meaning of the oft-repeated phrase, "the irony of fate;" inasmuch as it was to Pontefract that he was brought captive, and into one of his own dungeons that he was thrust, after appearing before the angry king. "Bareheaded as a thief in a fair hall within his own castle" he was charged, not only with treason, but with "raising war against his sovereign, destroying His Majesty's subjects, and plundering their estates." Sentence was passed upon him as an arch-traitor, but he indignantly retorted, "Nay, lords, forsooth, and, by St. Thomas, I never was a traitor!" And when he learnt that it had been decreed that he should go through the ignominy of being drawn, hanged, and beheaded, he asked, "Shall I die without answer?" Scant

consideration was given to this perhaps his last query. His power was broken, his friends in as great jeopardy as himself, and little heed was given to the inquiry of the disgraced nobleman, nor did punishment (as is often the case now) follow tardily upon his sentence. "The quality of mercy," of which Shakespeare speaks, does not appear to have had a vigorous existence in the monarch's heart, and the executioner almost trod on the judge's heels. Pitiful, though quaint, is the narrative of the earl's death. "For reverence of his blood, being the King's near kinsman, drawing and hanging were remitted unto him." His head was stricken off the same day without the town of Pontefract. He was set upon a lean white horse, without saddle or bridle; attired by a certain Gascoigne, who placed a soiled broken hat or hood upon his head; and attended by a friar preacher to the fatal hill, which lay a few hundred yards northwards, in sight of his own castle. At the scaffold he was pelted with mud, and assailed with the title of King Arthur, whilst he exclaimed, "King of heaven! grant me mercy, for the king of earth hath forsaken me!" But he was speedily beyond the reach of gibes and insults. No sooner had he knelt at the block than the headsman's axe descended, and the great Earl of Lancaster was only a figure in history. The temporary settlement of his vast estates caused almost a national commotion. In 1321, the Mayor and Sheriff of London, are firmly enjoined that they take possession, without delay, of all his goods and chattels in the city of London and suburbs thereof. The Sheriff of Stafford is ordered for several reasons to take possession of the castles, manors, &c., in that county. The lands of Dynebegh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other neighbouring lands, with the castles, &c., were granted to Griffin ap Rees, and Giles de Beauchamp. Oliver de Ingham had all the castles in Lancashire and the marshes of Wales. Simon de Driby had the castle of Pomfret; Thomas de Ughtred, that of Pykering. Robert de Leyburn had the *comitatus* of Lancashire. The Sheriff of Lancashire had the castle of Cliderhoe; Ralph Basset of Drayton, was appointed seneschal of the castles of Tutebury, Donyngton, and Melburn; and he and John de Somery were to take the castle of Kenilworth. Roger de Horsee had the castle of Dunstanburgh; William de la Beche that of Sandale; and Simon de Wodeham, the King's valet, that of Conyngesburgh. Richard de Musleye, parson of the church of Friston, was receiver of the issues of the castle and honor of Pontefreit, and of all the castles, &c., on this side of the river Ouse, except the castle of Skipton in Craven, which belonged to Roger de Clifford. Among the minor changes we find the King granting, in 1324, to John le Trumpour, the houses, lands, and tenements with their appurtenances, in the towns of Pomfret and Preston, which belonged to William le Tabarer. William was a man to whom Pomfret owes recognition. In 1334, he made a fine of 60/-, for founding anew a certain hospital in the town of Pomfret, for the habitation of a chaplain and certain poor men, and left lands and tenements to the same. Reviled and condemned before death, the dead Earl was revered as a saint, and

this practice has steadily developed, if I may be permitted to say a word or two in an "aside." Whatever meanness, and treachery, and falsity a prominent man has been guilty of, no sooner does the breath leave his body than a good-tempered conspiracy arises to speak "gently of the dead." His misdeeds are forgotten; his good ones (if he had any) are stretched out, made much of, and glorified. And this may have been justified in the earl's case, although there have been some modern instances in which this sort of posthumous flattery was very much out of place.

The earl, although his estates were confiscated to the Crown, was looked upon as a martyr, and canonised as a saint. Even Edward, who had sent him to the block, was not without remorse, for, when entreated by his courtiers to spare the life of one of his menials who had done some wrong, he bitterly retorted, "A plague upon you, for cursed whisperers, malicious backbiters, wicked counsellors! entreat you so for the life of a most notorious knave who would not speak one word for the life of my near kinsman, that most noble knight Earl Thomas?" With the people he was a favourite in life; in death, they first spontaneously made him a saint. Processions were made to his shrine; prayers were put up for his aid. The reverence paid to his name, and the affection given to his memory were so great both in extent and degree, that the Archbishop of York was at length compelled to interdict them. The act of interdiction was a mean exercise of authority.

But it was with the unfortunate King Richard that Pomfret Castle was most pitilessly associated. During his reign he dabbled in tyranny and injustice, apparently with as much glee as a child dabbles its chubby hands in water; but tyranny and injustice often make a rod—a scourge—for those who indulge in such treacherous luxuries, as Richard found to his cost. Outwitted by Bolingbroke, and deprived of his crown, the deposed sovereign was kept in durance lest he should do some mischief. According to Harding's Chronicles,

> The King then sent King Richard to Leedis,
> There to be kept surely in previte.
> Fro' thens after to Pykering wente he needis,
> And to Knaresburgh, after he led was he,
> But to Pomfret last, where he did die.

Though somewhat crude as poetry, these lines clearly indicate that after his imprisonment at Leeds (not the thriving manufacturing town in *Yorkshire*, but Leeds in Kent) Richard was eventually removed to Pomfret, and for ever bade adieu to his liberty. Of his misery much is said in a curious ballad, of which the following is an extract:—

> When Richard the Second in England was king,
> And reign'd with honour and state,
> Six uncles he had, his grandfather's sons,
> King Edward that ruled of late;
> All councellors noble and sage,
> Yet would he not hear
> Their precepts dear,
> So wilful he was in this his young age.

A sort of brave gallants he kept in his court,
  That trained him to wanton delights,
Which parasites pleased him better in mind,
  Than all his best nobles and knights;
Ambition and avarice grew
    So great in this land,
    That still from his hand
A mass of rich treasure his parasites drew.

His peers and his barons dishonoured were,
  And upstarts thus mounted on high;
His commons sore taxed, his cities oppressed,
  Good subjects were nothing set by;
And what to his coffers did come,
    He wantonly spent
    To please with content
His flattering upstarts, still sporting at home.

When thus unto ruin this kingdom began
  To fall from the highest estate,
The nobles of England their prince's amiss
  By Parliament soon did rebate;
And likewise those flatterers all,
    They banish'd the Court
    That made but a sport
To see this so famous a kingdom to fall.

But after these gallants degraded were thus,
  King Richard himself was put down;
And Bullinbrook, Lancaster's noble-born duke,
  By policy purchased his crown.
Thus civil wars here begun,
    That could have no end,
    By foe nor by friend,
Till seven kings' reigns, with their lives were outrun.

But Richard, the breeder of all these same broils,
  In prison was wofully cast,
Where long he complained in sorrowful sort,
  Of kingly authority past.
No lords nor no subjects had he,
    No glory, no state,
    That early and late
Upon him attending had wont for to be.

His robes were converted to garments so old,
  That beggars them hardly would wear;
His diet no comfort at all to him brought,
  For he fed upon sorrow and care.
And from prison to prison was sent,
    Each day and each night,
    To work him despite,
That, wearied with sorrows, he still might lament.

Poor King, thus abused, he was at the last
  To Pomfret in Yorkshire conveyed,
And there in a dungeon full low in the ground,
  Unpitied, he nightly was laid.

The ballad, in language which to say the least is rather topsy-turvy, continues by observing that no one for Richard's misery grieved, and that the monarch who had usurped his throne, feeling restless and dis-

quieted so long as the fallen monarch lived, took care he should be secretly murdered. History, however, differs as to the manner of his death. Polydore Vergil remarks "That his diet being served in, and set before him in the wonted princely manner, he was not suffered to taste or touch thereof, and so died of famine." It is stated, too, by Sir John Fortescue, that "Richard died a death never before that time known in England;" and in Stowe's Annals appears the extraordinary assertion that he was "fifteen dayes and nightes kepte in hunger, thyrste, and cold till he dyed." If he really did survive fifteen days under such torturing conditions, his constitution must have been a splendid one; but, painful as it is to doubt the veracity of any historian, it is difficult to believe that an ordinary man—much less a monarch who had had every whim gratified—could struggle so long with the worst and most relentless of all enemies—famine! Gray, the poet, nevertheless, was firmly impressed with the idea that he died of starvation, and he has given a vivid picture in verse of the hungering King:—

> Fill high the sparkling bowl,
> The rich repast prepare,
> Reft of a crown, he yet may share the feast;
> Close by the regal chair
> Fell thirst and famine scowl,
> A baleful smile upon their baffled guest.

There is, however, another story of the King's death- that he was actually murdered. On the day fixed for the grim deed, says one chronicler, Richard sat down to a dinner that surprised him—a sumptuous repast. His dessert, alas! was a terrible one, for Sir Piers of Exton "entered the chamber well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, every one of them carrying a bill in his hand. King Richard, perceiving this, put the table from him, and, stepping to the foremost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, and, so valiantly defended himself that he slew four of those who came to assail him. Sir Piers, being half dismayed, herewith leapt into the chair where King Richard was wont to sit, while the other persons fought with him and chased him about the chamber. And, in conclusion, as King Richard traversed his ground from one side of the chamber to another, and, coming by the chair where Sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a poll axe, which Sir Piers gave him upon the head, and therewith rid him out of life."

It was at Pomfret, in 1460-61, just after the battle of Wakefield, that Queen Margaret sent several captive knights, "and most unwomanly in cold blood caused them to be beheaded;" nor were these the only heads by many cut off within the Castle during the next few years, when malice and cruelty were rampant and the executioner had little leisure. When the quieter times came in the reign of Henry VII., the military rigour of the castle does not seem to have been abated. In 1485, Sir John Everyngham is appointed to the office of Constable and porter of the Castle of Pountfreit, to hold for the term of his life with all fees, wages, &c., belonging thereto. At the same time Nicholas Leventhorpe

is granted the office of receiver of the honours and lordships of Pontefract and Knaresborough, to hold them during the King's pleasure; and he is also appointed keeper of the artillery within the Castle of Pontefract for the term of his life. We find from writs and grants "given at the Castle of Pountfret" that Henry VII. was stopping there in the months of June, July, and August, 1487.

Nor was the Castle of Pomfret a quiet resort in the troublous reign of King Charles I. It was twice besieged, and no acts of gallantry and daring in modern times could exceed the valour displayed there during the civil war. Besiegers and besieged entered into a competition of temerity, and human life was held very cheap. In the second siege everybody seemed to grow almost ridiculously foolhardy. John Nelson, a tailor (who after this shall say that a tailor is only the ninth part of a man?), "being sent across the street for some ale in a flagon, was returning with it, and had got within the threshold of the door, when a cannon ball struck off his leg; yet he did not fall, but *hopped in with the ale!*" And one of the enemy impudently smoking his pipe on Primrose Close, as if to tantalise the besieged, was punished for his audacity, being killed by a musket shot from the Castle. One of the garrison actually forfeited his life for fourpence—and did not get the money. In order to preserve the cattle the governor of the fortress gave fourpence to each man who brought a bundle of fodder into the Castle. A soldier, who evidently thought he had a charmed life, ventured six times into the meadows, and brought safely back six bundles of grass. Determined to gather still another bundle, he sallied forth again, when he "was shot by the enemy, and afterwards run through with a halberd." So fond of fighting were the occupants of the Castle, that they now and then had a combat among themselves, and at length it was found necessary to enact a stringent order, "That no gentleman, officer, or soldier fight any duel; and whosoever is challenged to forbear to fight and make the governor acquainted with the same, resigning himself to him, or appealing to the board for satisfaction, on pain of death." Is there any wonder, then, with such a martial spirit prevailing, that Pomfret—now so easy-going and restful that it is converting the environs of the Castle into a pleasure-ground—was the "last garrison in England that held out against the Parliament," and drove Cromwell, ironside and phlegmatic though he was, almost to his wits' end?

From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post.*

MIDDLEHAM CASTLE.

Your as she yields along, amongst the parks and groves,
In Middleham's amorous eye, as wanderingly she roves.

ALTHOUGH the size and extent of Middleham Castle are but moderate for the figure it has made in local story, and the rank and power of the succession of great barons who built, augmented, and have inhabited it, it is in itself a remarkable building, and presents much of antiquarian interest. It is placed on the southern edge of the town of Middleham, and a little above it. Its immediate position presents no great natural advantages, but for the general defence of Wensley Dale it is not ill chosen, standing between the Yore and the Cover, about a mile and a half above the junction of the two streams. As already stated Middleham has during historic times been a strategic point in the occupation and defence of the district, it having been held in force very probably by the Celts, but certainly by their successors. After the Conquest, Middleham was a part of the broad territory, granted by the Conqueror to Alan Fergaunt, the founder of Richmond Castle and lord of that extensive manor, stepping thus into the seat of the English Earl Edwin, which he shifted from the adjacent Gilling. His younger son, Ribald, had Middleham for his especial heirship, by the gift of the second Alan, his brother. Ribald was followed by Ralph, his son, and he by Robert Fitz Ralph, or Ranulph, who married Helewisia, daughter of Ranulph de Glanville; he is the reputed builder of the Keep in the 2d and 3d Richard I., 1190-1.

When the castellated structure, whose ruins are so full of interest to us, was first erected on these heights, apart from the ancient military station already described, history sufficently tells; but what was the appearance of the manor in Edward the Confessor's day, when it belonged to the Danish chieftain Gilpatric, we know but little. The chieftain had then a dwelling in Middleham, easily capable of defence, as most likely also had his Anglian predecessor, who affixed to his station the *ham* of its name. This dwelling was in all likelihood on the site of the old earthworks, and, according to the notions of those days, a thoroughly fortified post. It must have continued the seat of the garrison for more than a century after the Conquest, and have sheltered Ribald after he had become lord of the estate. Ribald, "who was born in the parts beyond sea," turned away from the knightly career for his soul's sake, and died a monk within the walls of St. Mary's Abbey, York. By his wife Beatrice, he had a son, Ralph, surnamed Taylbois, that is the "wood-chopper" which may perhaps be read as the scornful nickname of one who preferred to be a useful colonist and land-reclaimer, rather than a soldier. We are thankful for that nickname; it is more illustrative of English history than a volume of monkish chronicles. Ralph Taylbois married Agatha, daughter of Robert Brus, of Skelton. Earl Stephen, uncle of this Ralph, confirmed to him the gift of Middleham by charter, and the delivery of a Danish hatchet—a most interesting feature as indicating

the double value of the weapon the wood-chopper was using so differently from the method of his Norse ancestors, which might also easily be the method of his Norse vassals. By his wife Agatha, Ralph had his son Robert, the lord of Middleham, to whom Conan, Earl of Richmond, gave the forest of Wensleydale with all common of pasture—so that there might be more wood-chopping for fruitful purposes. Robert married Helewisia, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Glanville, lord of Coverham, the distinguished Chief Justice.

The erection of the stronger Norman citadel as a substitute for the ancient military-post, was clearly due to turbulence in the dale. The steps may yet be traced in the history of the paramount fortress at Richmond. The local troubles of the dalesmen found sympathy at Richmond, where some disturbance of the King's peace had evidently taken place. In 1201, Alan the son of Roald, rendered account of 300 marks and 3 palfreys, for that the King should return to him the custody of the Castle of Richmond, as he had the right of having and holding so long as he shall well and lawfully serve. In the same year, Roald, the son of Alan, rendered account of £32 10s. for his relief of the land which he held of the King of the honour of Richmond. He paid into the Treasury £16, and owed £16 10s. He also rendered account of 13 marks for fine of six and a half knight's fees, of the fee of the Countess of Britanny. He paid into the Treasury 6½ marks and owed the same amount. In 1202, the very time above referred to, and evidently a consequence of the common grievance, Galfrid de Welle was summoned to show by what advowson he held himself in the moiety of the church of Wandesley, the advowson of which Osbert Fitz Nigel, son of Alexander, said belonged to him. Galfrid alleged that he held himself in that moiety by the presentation of Gwiemar, son of Warin, and by the installation of Roger, formerly (1154-91) Archbishop of York. There was some corruption about this matter, for in 1205, Hugh Malbisse gives a palfrey to overcome 12 jurors by 24, they having falsely sworn as he alleged in recognisance upon the moiety of the church of Wendesleia, upon which Osbert Fitz Nigel was arraigned. The court decided that Osbert may have his presentation to a moiety of the church of Wendesle, Hugh Malebisse being cast in damages (*Abb. Plac.* 35, 52). It is very probable that the military works of the Castle received their first great development at this period, when it would seem that the dalesmen were in revolt, and perhaps abetted by their chieftains. It is certain that local government had then to be transferred to other hands. In 1204, the King granted to R., Earl of Chester, all the hereditaments of the honour of Richmond, or Richmondshire, except certain knights' fees, one of which it may be was the fee of East Witton, granted to Robert de Tateshal. The Earl appears to have remained in command until 1213, when the honour was given to Simon de Insula (*Cal. Rot. Pat.* 4). Knaresborough, it will be remembered, was developed at the same period.

These dissensions are traced in other local matters. Helewisia, daughter and heiress of Radulph de Glanville, Lord of Coverham, with

the assent of Waleran, her son and heir then living, founded the monastery of Præmonstratensian canons at Swaneby—an expiatory act possibly for the soul of her father, who died at the siege of Acre in 1190. Waleran, to whom Pope Alexander III. granted a bull as to the founder of Swaneby, died on the 9th March, 1195. After the foundation of the Abbey of Coverham, his bones were transferred thither from Swaneby. Ralph, son of Robert, Lord of Middleham and brother of Waleran, having disputes with the Canons of Swaneby, "multis habitis altercationibus inter ipsum et canonicos," removed the canons to Coverham, and bestowed upon them the church of Coverham and several other lands and tenements by fine in the court of King John. He died in 1215, and was buried at Coverham. It is stated in the *Harl. MS.*, 793, "To Robert, son of Ralph, and to his heirs, Conan Earl of Britanny, gave the forestry of Wensleydale, with the common of pasture. This Robert founded and built in his time the Castle of Middleham. He married Helewisia (Alice), daughter of Ralph de Glanville, Lord of Coverham, who bore *azure semee of croslets à trois croissez, pearle.* Ralph, son of Robert and Alice, being dead, there remained this Ralph, son of Robert, third brother and heir of the said Waleran, and Ralph in ward and custody of Hubert Walter, whom the said Hubert delivered to Theobald de Valoynes with his forests and all his lands, who being then Archdeacon of Salisbury was ordained to be sub-deacon, and by the Pope's dispensation recalled." Hubert Fitz Walter, clerk to Ranulph de Glanville was presented to the deanery of York by the King in 1186. Richard created him Bishop of Salisbury in 1189. He served in the crusade.

In agreement with the above statements there appears to have been a series of breaks in the succession, perhaps owing to these minorities or to the disruptions of local affairs. It now, however, becomes certain that Middleham Castle was a finished fortress, and held by the usual train of feudal officers and garrison. On the 17th February, 1216, when King John was stopping at Knaresborough, he orders the constable of Richmond that the Castle of Middleham shall be freed to the custody of Nicholas de Stapleton, and placed in him, the said Nicholas, as concerning his kinfolk—*de gente sua*—according as it shall seem expedient. Therefore, he shall well hold for the benefit and honour, and do with that castle what the King commands him; and the said Nicholas for Galfrid de Neville, the King's Chamberlain, and by letters patent. Galfrid, the Chamberlain, was a man possessing power over the fickle King, and we may attribute to his hold and influence the connexion with the Fitz Ranulphs, which led to the marriage of Robert de Neville with Mary, the heiress, and the acquisition by them of the estates.

The Castle, though it has been described "as an object, the noblest work of man in the county of Richmond," is not so grandly placed as that of Richmond, with its rugged masses rising proudly and sternly above the lovely valley at its feet. But Middleham, seated on its rocky crest, sweeps Wensleydale, and of old has been the visible beacon

tower and rallying place of the dale. It commands a very wide stretch of country, including a splendid view across the Yore—a view which, beautiful though it be, commended itself less to the founder than the strategic importance of the site. The little town of Middleham is high, but the Castle is higher, as the head towering over the body which is secondary to it. Its grey ruins stand out picturesquely against the sky. According to our best knowledge, the town had there nestled for two centuries of the feudal grandeur of the castle before it spread beyond the influence of a village, and reached the importance of a town; for it does not appear to have received any charter until 1390, when Ralph de Neville obtained a grant of a market and fair.

In plan Middleham is rectangular, composed of a keep about 100 ft. north and south by 80 ft. east and west, and to the base of its parapet about 55 ft. high, which is placed in the centre of an *enceinte*, also rectangular, 240 ft. north and south by 190 ft. east and west, so that the area of its only ward is but limited. The *enceinte* is a curtain wall, about 30 ft. high. At its north-west and south-east angles it has rectangular towers of slight external projection, which rise above the curtain. Its south-west angle is capped by a drum tower of three stages, and on the north face, but at its north-east angle is the gatehouse, rectangular, of slight projection, but four stages high, basement included. The east curtain has been destroyed. Upon the south and west curtains are many exterior projections, buttresses, and near the centre of each a rectangular tower. The domestic buildings were chiefly placed against the curtains on the north, west, and south sides, and thus the ward is reduced to a mere passage between these buildings and the keep. The gatehouse is about 25 ft. deep by 50 ft. broad. It has in its exterior front a central portal, round-headed, beneath a pointed arch of relief. This is flanked by buttresses, 2 ft. broad by 1 ft. deep, and the adjacent angles of the building are supported by similar buttresses, two being set on each. At the first story these pass into a single buttress, which caps the angle,—a pleasing arrangement, giving variety to the outline. The entrance vault, like the gateway, is round-headed, with ribs for doors; it it has a single portcullis groove at its inner-end. It is all of one date, and in the Decorated style. This gatehouse, and the buildings of the ward generally, are Decorated, and require far more examination than the writer has been able to bestow upon them. The Keep is reinforced at the four angles by broad, flat capping buttresses, of variable breadth and projection, and which, no doubt, rose above the battlement into rectangular turrets. The buttress on the north-east angle has a breadth of 26 ft. on the north with a projection of 7 ft., and to the east a breadth of 16 ft. with a projection of 1 ft. It contains the chamber communicating with the battlement of the outer gate of the barbican, and below is solid. The buttress on the north-west angle has to the north a breadth of 22 ft. with a projection of 3 ft., and to the west a breadth of 12 ft. and a depth of 1 ft. On the south-west angle the breadth of the west face is 14 ft., and of the south 11 ft., and the depth

of each is 1 ft. The south-east angle, as at Rochester, contains the staircase. It has no projection on the east-face, being covered by the barbican. On the south, its breadth is 20 ft., its depth 6 ft. This alone preserves the remains of a turret above the battlements. Excepting the stair-turret, the angles of the keep seem solid below, though worked into chambers on the first floor. There are also projections on the west and south wall. That on the west has a depth of 12 ft., and a breadth of 18 ft. The lower story is broken away; it was hollow, and looks as though meant for a gigantic cesspit. The upper part hangs unsupported save by the cohesion of its cement, and greatly needs conservation. This turret is about 51 ft. from the north end, and 31 ft. from the south. The projection on the south wall is 12 ft. broad, and 8 ft. deep. It is placed 24 ft. from the west, and 44 ft. from the east angle, coinciding with the partition-wall within. The turret is hollow, and forms a great shaft for garderobes in the upper stories. In its face, at the ground level, is a round-headed arch, of 3 ft. opening, and 4 ft. high, the outlet of the sewer, but above ground. These two turrets at present cease at the level of the parapet, but probably rose sufficiently above it to cover a garderobe. The keep has a plinth on the north, west, and south sides. The east face is covered by the barbican or tower of entrance, and which, as was not uncommon, contained the chapel. The walls are about 9 ft. thick.

The keep has a basement floor at the ground level, and a first or state floor, and on the east side an upper floor. The structure is built of coursed rubble, with ashlar quoins and dressings. As regards the age of the several parts of the Castle, the keep is plainly late Norman, and likely enough the work of Robert Fitz Ranulph, Lord of Middleham in 1190. To his immediate descendants are certainly due the earlier alterations, especially the chapel before the extinction of the family in 1251. The Decorated and later work is mostly of excellent ashlar. The keep is divided by a wall 9 ft. thick into two unequal parts, that to the east being 29 ft, and that to the west 24 ft. broad, each being about 84 ft. long. A well stair 12 ft. in diameter, ascended in the south-east angle from the basement to the battlements, lighted by loops, and with doors to each floor. The east chamber, into which this stair opens by a large and apparently round-headed door, now broken, was vaulted in two lines, resting upon five cylindrical piers, about 3 ft. 6 in. each in diameter, and averaging 14 ft. from centre to centre. The vault seems to have been a barrel groined. At each end were two square-headed loops, high above the floor, with stepped recesses. The east wall contains only three square lockers, and the door of the staircase. The west or partition-wall is pierced by five openings, about 4 ft. broad, and round-headed, three to the north, and two to the south of the thick solid central part. Probably these were introduced to lighten the work, and all but one or two thinly walled up. One must have been a doorway, as from the eastern lay the only communication with the western chamber. The western chamber seems to have been spanned by a single vault,

apparently slightly pointed and groined in six bays. In each end is a single square-headed loop. On the west side are seven loops, the central part being occupied by the unpierced rear wall of the turret already described.

First floor, east side. This was evidently the hall. It is very lofty, and in its north end is a round-headed window of 2 ft. opening, and 7 ft. high to the springing. In the south end are two similar windows, but about 14 ft. long, and a curious water-drain between them and the door. This, the door from the stair, is plain round-headed, and 6 ft. opening. Close north of it is a similar door, of 7 ft. opening, quite plain, and without a portcullis. This is the main entrance, and opens from the barbican tower. Beyond this is a short window, and then three long ones, like those at the north end, so arranged as to open clear of the exterior barbican stair. The west wall has an opening at each end, the bulk of the wall being solid. The northern of the two openings was probably the great door of passage between the rooms; the southern communicated with the garderobe in the south wall. In the north-east angle is a very curious mural chamber, 12 ft. east and west, by 9 ft. north and south, vaulted in a single groined bay, round-headed, and springing from half-octagon brackets in the angles, each the cap of a detached shaft, now removed. In the north wall are two, and in the east one loop. A door into the south wall opens into the north end of the hall, and one in the east wall passes obliquely through the wall, and evidently led to the battlements of the outer gate of the barbican, over the foot of its staircase. This room is much broken, but its fittings are original, and late Norman. It may be referred to the period when the Earl of Chester was in command, during the troubles of John's reign. If the hall had a fireplace in masonry, it was in the west wall, at a part recently repaired. It is not clear how the hall was roofed; possibly the original covering was a high-pitched roof, with the battlements above, but at present the side walls carry a table, with corbels of a plain billet moulding, on which an upper wall, about 12 ft. high, is advanced 6 in. In these walls are large window openings, with segmental arches, three on each side, which must have opened clear of the roof of the west chamber, and upon the battlements on the east side. In the south end, above the two narrow windows mentioned, is a third smaller one, as though to light a roof of high pitch. There are no corbels for principals, and no holes for main beams, but above the corbel table on each side is a range of holes, about 9 in. square, and as much apart, neatly stopped with ashlar, as though an original flat roof had been removed, and a roof of high pitch introduced. However this may have been, the windows of the side walls are clearly additional, and belonged to a second floor. Altogether the history of this roof is very obscure, and demands a close local investigation. The upper door in the well stair is not at a level to suit a second floor, nor consistent with a high-pitched roof.

First floor, west side. In the north end is a round-headed window, 2 ft. opening, by 7 ft. high, and a door into a now inaccessible

mural chamber in the north-west angle. At the south end are two similar windows, and a door into a chamber in the south-west angle. In the east wall are the two broken doorways already mentioned, and the broken tunnels of two, if not of three, large fireplaces, the shafts of which, much broken, still rise clear to the roof. The fireplaces are gone, and the wall has been much patched recently to give it support. There are two rather curious lockers in this wall. In the west wall there seem to have been four round-headed windows of 2ft. opening, and 7ft. high, and near the middle is a door opening into the middle buttress tower, which contains two chambers of unequal size. These are not accessible, but one was probably a large garderobe, and the other may have been the way to a small drawbridge, opening from the keep upon a rectangular tower in the ward, not 12ft. distant, so as to give direct passage from the keep to the outer walls. In the keep wall, north of this tower, is a large segmental-arched window, evidently an insertion, probably the work of Richard III. In the north-west and south-west angles, as already mentioned, are mural chambers, not accessible. There do not appear to be any galleries in the wall. This west chamber was probably divided by a brattice, and the north part used as a withdrawing-room from the hall. There does not appear to have been a second floor on this side. It is, however, curious that there should be no corbels, nor any of the usual indications of the principals of an ordinary open roof. In each side wall, high up, is a row of holes, about 9 in. square and 18 in. from centre to centre, so that probably the roof was flat, or, at any rate, was composed of heavy rafters, without principals.

The approach seems to have been, as at Rochester, Scarborough, and elsewhere, by a flight of stone steps built against the wall, commencing, in this case, about 10ft. from its northern end, and rising about 20ft. to a vestibule, upon which opened, right and left, the great door of the keep, and that of the chapel. The staircase was about 9ft. broad, and 45ft. or 50ft. long to the vestibule. It seems to have been protected by a side wall, reducing the actual stair-breadth to (say) 5ft. or 6ft., and to have been either vaulted or roofed with timber. Its lower gate must have opened beneath a small tower, the battlements of which were reached from the chamber in the north-east angle of the keep. About half-way up the staircase, past what, from the appearance of the wall, seems to have been a second gate, in the keep wall is a large cavity capable of holding comfortably twenty men, evidently as a guard in case the entrance should be forced. Higher up, where the staircase landed on the vestibule, there seems to have been a third door. The vestibule is part of the second floor of the usual rectangular barbican tower built against the keep, about 12ft. from the south end of the east face. This tower measures about 33ft. north and south, and about 48ft. east and west. It rose about two-thirds of the height of the keep, and is divided into a basement or sub-crypt, an upper crypt, and a chapel and vestibule floor. The basement is at the ground level. Next

the keep, or rather, next the solid mass of masonry which supports the stairs and vestibule, is the sub-crypt, 20ft. north and south, by 24ft. east and west. Beyond, that is, east of it, a passage runs right through the building, 5ft. broad, with a door at each end; and beyond this are the ruins of a small chamber, which probably reached to the outer curtain wall. The passage gave a communication between the north and south parts of the ward, otherwise divided, on this side, by the barbican tower, and from this passage a door led into the sub-crypt. This room was vaulted in two lines in eight bays, springing from a central line of three columns, now gone. The arch gables show that the vault was round-headed. In the south wall at the west end is a well-stair leading to the upper crypt, and the only way to it. The sub-crypt is lighted by two small round-headed Norman windows in each of the two open faces, one at each side of an exterior plain pilaster buttress, 3ft. broad by 3ft. deep.

The first floor, or upper crypt, extended eastward over the passage the whole length of the barbican, and was 20ft. broad, and probably 40ft. long inside. This also was vaulted, but the vault spanned the whole breadth and formed two bays only. The ribs of the groining sprang from half-round mural pilasters. In the north wall, near the east end, is a fireplace. This floor had no communication with that above it. It was not uncommon for the basement of the barbican to be quite independent of the keep, and to be entered, as here, by an outer door of its own. The second floor of the barbican contained the chapel and the vestibule, this floor being on the level of the great entrance to the keep. Whether the vestibule was vaulted is uncertain; probably it was. It is about 20ft. north and south by 9ft. east and west, the entrance stair arriving at the north end, the keep door being on the west, and the chapel door on the east side. The chapel was loftier and vaulted in a lighter style than the crypts below. Its walls were 7ft. thick, and its area about 20ft. by 40ft. It was vaulted in two bays in a light style, probably Early English, and may be taken to mark the work executed during John's reign, when the Wardenship of the castle was out of the hands of the family. The great door of the keep was plain Norman, but chamfered round the head and jambs. There are traces of caps, and probably there were two flanking shafts, but no mouldings or drip-stone. The walls of the barbican are, no doubt, mainly original, though the vaulting of the sub-crypt and crypt may have been renewed. The chapel probably replaces an earlier building.

Middleham seems never to have had any works beyond the *enceinte* wall, save a slight ditch, of which traces remain on the south side only. On the east, a field road has superseded the ditch, as have some modern buildings on the west side. There is no present trace of either ditch or drawbridge on the north or town front. Not a little of the structural history of Middleham may be inferred from the history of the surrounding fortresses. On the 8th July, 1215, there is a patent concerning the non destruction of the Castle of Richmond; but on the 3rd June, 1216,

we have another concerning the destruction of that castle if it cannot be held against the King's enemies (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 7). The period of unsettled rule has extended a score years beyond this. In 1232, the Duke of Britanny and Earl of Richmond is granted the Castle of Bowes and a safe conduct; and Hubert de Burg, Earl of Kent, the Castle of Horneby, with a pardon of flight and outlawry promulgated against him; and a safe-conduct as a former enemy of the King. In 1242 there is another patent for Margaret, Countess of Kent, of the Castle of Horneby. The honour of Richmond passed into the hands of Peter of Savoy, who, in 1246, obtained the forest of Wensledale, which lately belonged to Ranulf, son of Robert, as of Peter's honour of Richmond. Robert de Neville first appears upon the scene in 1255, when he has leave to hunt in the County of York. In 1260, he is appointed Justiciar of the forests beyond Trent. In 1262, he was appointed to high military command as the "King's Captain" in the county of York and the other counties beyond Trent. In 1275, he held the Castle of Bamburg for the King, and in 1276 was appointed to that of Scardeburg.

No doubt the exterior ward is built on the side of a Norman *enceinte*, and some of the original work may remain; but this part of the fortress was completely recast by the Neviles, who married the Fitz-Ranulph heiress, and, no doubt, either by Robert, called the Peacock of the North, who had Middleham, &c., from his grandmother, and who died before 5 Ed. II., 1331, or by Ralph, Lord Nevile of Raby, his brother and successor, who died 41 Ed. III., 1367. It is a curious and probably unique fact that at Middleham there are the ruins of two separate and distinct castles, the ancient building standing within the later one, and not annexed to it. Of the later residence of Richard, Duke of York (Rich. III.) the traces are the large window opening on the west face of the keep, and perhaps the upper story on the east side of the same building, and certain details added to the ward.

Ranulph Fitz-Robert was the founder of Coverham Abbey, "Near his manor-house of Middleham," and was there buried in 1251 (31 Hen. III.), leaving Ralph Fitz-Ranulph, his son, who appears to have been Lord of Middleham Manor in 1264, when a summons was sent to Eustace de Baillol, Stephen de Neville, Peter de Brus, Robert de Neville, John de Baillol, Gilbert Haunsard, Ralph Fitz Ranulph, Adam de Ges'em, Robert de Stuteville, and other barons of the north, to repair to the King, having been drawn for the liberation of Prince Edward; and on account of their not having answered the summons, a safe-conduct was granted to them (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 37). There is an inquisition for the partition of his lands (55 Hen. III.), the year of his death. He left three daughters co-heirs, of whom, Mary, the eldest, married Robert de Nevile, and had Middleham. Ralph died (55 Hen. III.) 1271. It appears, by an inquisition under the name of Peter of Savoy, that Middleham was a fee owing suit of court to the honour of Richmond. 18 Ed. I., Mary de Nevile is styled Domina de Middleham, and 13 Ed.

II. she had the manor. She lived till 14 Ed. II. (1320), having held Middleham for life. Their son was Ralph Nevile, who died 5 Ed. III. (1331), and who appears in an inquisition (1 Ed. III.) as holding Middleham Manor and Castle. His son, Robert Nevile, the Peacock of the North, had from his grandmother the castle and manor of Middleham. He died without issue, before his father, leaving Ralph, his brother and heir, who died 41 Ed. III. This Ralph, Lord Nevile of Raby, took a very active part in all the public transactions of his time, both in war and peace. He died seized of the castle and manor of Middleham, and was the first layman buried in the Cathedral of Durham.

The next lord was John, his son, also a great soldier and diplomatist. He died 12 Rich. II., 1388, leaving Ralph, his son and heir, who added to the wealth and power of the family, and also held the castle, manor, and lordship of Middleham at his death in 4 Hen. VI., 1425. John, son of Ralph, died before his father, 1423, who was succeeded by his grandson, Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, who died 2 Rich. III. Middleham, however, had passed to Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, son of Earl Ralph, who died 4 Hen. VI., by his second wife, a daughter of John of Gaunt. The Earl of Salisbury, by an inquisition of 12 Rich. II., had then Middleham. This is the earl who, in 37 Hen. VI., marched with 4,000 men from Middleham into Lancashire on his way to London, to obtain redress from the King and Queen for injuries done to his son. On this earl's forfeiture, before 38 Hen. VI., his Lancastrian kinsman, Sir John Nevile, was made constable of Middleham Castle, then in the Crown. Sir John fell at Towton, 1 Ed. IV., and his son Ralph became Earl of Westmoreland. But Middleham remained in the Crown. At Middleham, then in charge of Nevile, Archbishop of York, Edward IV. was confined by Richard, Earl of Warwick, the prelate's brother. Edward escaped when hunting in the park. After Barnet the castle was granted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the exclusion of the male heirs of the Marquis of Montagu, Warwick's brother. Richard was much here; he raised the rectory to a deanery, with a view to the foundation of a college; and here his son Edward, Prince of Wales, was born. After Richard's death, Middleham fell to the Crown, and was leased to various persons. Finally it was sold to Mr. Wood, of Littleton, ancestor of the late owner, General Wood. Recently the keep was partially cleared of rubbish, and some of the most dangerous portions have been underpinned; but a little more assistance of the same character is much needed, to save some of the most prominent features of the ruin from destruction.*

The first deed of violence which history records as having happened within the frowning walls of old Middleham Castle, was the murder of

* I owe this very excellent description of the structure of Middleham Castle to Mr. G. T. Clarke, F.S.A.; it is taken from the columns of the *Builder*, to which that gentleman contributed it in 1874.

its lord by his wife, Mary, co-heiress of the Fitz-Ranulphs. Ralph Fitz-Ranulph at the time of his death, in 1269 70, had three daughters: Mary, married to Robert Neville lord of Raby; Joan, married to Robert de Tateshale of Westwytton;* and Anastasia, so called after her mother, a daughter of William Lord Percy, then within age and a King's ward. Anastasia, the mother, having declared on oath that she would not re-marry without the King's license, an extent of the lands was declared, and she had assigned to her in dower the lands of Thoraldby, Middleham, and Welle. The estates were divided. Middleham went to Mary and Welle to Joan; they obtained possession on the 27th June, 1270. At the time of their father's death both the daughters and their husbands were youthful. Robert Neville paid into the Queen's garderobe £15 6s. 3d. for his relief in 1254. Anastasia, the youngest of the daughters, died without issue before 1272, and her share of the lands was afterwards equally divided between her sisters. Mary, wife of Robert de Neville, had borne him several children. Suspecting her husband of licentious familiarity with a lady in Craven, she caused him to be mutilated—*genitalia præcidi fecerunt*—so desperately that he died. It has, however, been said that the murder was committed by the husband of the lady with whom Neville had intrigued. This is alleged to have been done in 1270. Robert de Neville was buried in Coverham Abbey.

The widow was in possession of the Castle in 1280, in which year, as Mary of Middleham—apparently scornful of the name of the betrayer—she is summoned to show by what warrant she had free warren in her manor of Middleham and free chase in Coverdale; and in answer the fiery dame tells the Judges at York that she had those things as the heiress of Ralph Fitz-Ranulph. Her rule was one of power and rigour; she was queen of the dale, and she made both her vassals and her neighbours know it. There is a list of the knight's fees of her seigniory of Middleham and Crakehall in the *Harl. MS.*, 3674. The great abilities of the Scropes, sub-tenants of the Fitz-Ranulfs, would scarcely have gained them their power and prominence had it not been for the stronger and wealthier hands of the lords of the fee, and especially of the imperious dame to whom the Nevilles also owe their power. If it was from her bosom that the great King-maker sprang, it was as certainly from her munificence that the Chief Justice of the King's Bench obtained a start in life, by which he eventually established the line of Le Scrope of Masham. Their obligation to her is given in

The charter of Mary de Neville, lady of Middleham, of homage and service for land in Coverham, &c.

To all that shall see or hear this indented writing, Mary de Neville, lady of Middleham, greeting. Know ye that we have remitted, and altogether from

* In 1243 there is a partition of the hereditaments of the Earl of Arundel among his co-heirs, viz., Robert de Tateshull, son of Robert de Tateshull, the eldest of the heirs of the Earl; John, son of John son of Alan, the second heir; Roger de Sumery, who married Nichola, sister and one of the heirs of the Earl, and Roger de Suthand', who married the second sister and fourth heir. *Cal. Rot. Pat.* 20.

us and our heirs for ever quit-claimed to Geoffrey le Scrope, his heirs, &c., the homage and all other services and customs due to us of lands and tenements, with their appurtenances, which the same Geoffrey holds of us in demesne or in service in the towns or territories of Coverham, Caldebergh, Akelthorpe, and Jarnewick, so that neither we, nor any in our name, can for ever henceforth exact, challenge, and have of the aforesaid Geoffrey, &c., homage, scutage, wardship, marriage, relief, fines, suit of county or any other services, customs, or burdens, by reason of the aforesaid tenements, saving only unto us and our heirs the fealty of the said Geoffrey and his heirs, and the rent of one barbed arrow to us and to our heirs, paid yearly on the birthday of the lord for ever, to be exacted of the said Geoffrey and his heirs by reason of the tenements aforesaid. In witness, &c., Sir Ranulf de Neville, Kt., 1312.

Her hardness of heart towards the man who had wronged her was long before it softened into forgiveness.* She died in her widowhood, 14th Edw. II., 1320, and was buried in Coverham Abbey. She left Middleham to her grandson, Robert Neville, "the Peacock of the North." The matter of free warren was not definitely settled until the year 1334, when Ralph de Neville obtained the King's leave to enclose and impark his woods of Sheriff-Hutton and Middleham, and also of making there a a deer leap for the game. It would, therefore, be at this time that the noble parks, afterwards to be mentioned, were first sundered from the original forest, and the precincts of the castle, first probably cleared by order of Ralph Taylebois the "wood chopper," were enclosed from the thickets beyond them.

From this time the Nevilles grew in wealth and influence. Ralph Neville, hero of the battle of Neville's Cross fought in 1346, was a younger brother of the then lord of Middleham, while John, Lord Neville, who died in 1388, was one of the greatest warriors of his time. He was succeeded by Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland—"my cousin Westmoreland," who was promoted Earl of Richmond and Marshal of England. He figures prominently in Shakespeare's *Henry IV.* It was he who obtained the charter for the town, and built the second castle, the ruins of which surround what remains of the eyrie of the Fitz Ranulphs. It was probably the hereditary feud between the Nevilles

* Her foundation of the chantry is alluded to in the following:—Robert de Neville, rector of the church of Aykesgarth, greeting. We have inspected the letters of Edward King of England, of John de Britannia Earl of Richmond, and of the noble lady, Mary de Neville, lady of Middleham. The charter between the lady Mary on the one part, and the Abbot and Convent of Coverham on the other, witnesseth that the said lady Mary, for the health of her soul and of that of Robert de Neville, sometime her husband, hath given to the Abbot and Convent and to the church of Coverham, 50 acres, &c., in Great Crakehall, and that the said lady Mary hath given to the said Abbot and Convent all that messuage which Geoffrey de Church and Maud the laundress held in Thoraldby, with the service, and all the meadow in circuit of the great chapel situate in the town of Thoraldby, and pasture for four cows in the common of pasture of the same town, and twenty waggons of turves to be had every year in the turbary of the same town, to have and to hold, &c. Witnesses, Sir Henry de Percy, Kt., &c. Robert de Neville, parson of Aykesgarth, hath granted that the said chantries may be made and celebrated in the great chapel of Thoraldby, within his parish of Aykesgarth, by the said secular chaplains, according to the will of the said lady Mary. Dated 7th Edw. II., 1313-4. *Harl. MS.*

and the Scropes, which prompted "my cousin Westmoreland" to plot the betrayal, in 1405, of Archbishop Scrope and his prominent supporters. The Archbishop and his friends had petitioned for the reformation of abuses, and had raised troops to enforce their demands. The insurgents took the field, but without any concert. They were led by the Archbishop, who published a manifesto at York, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Mowbray Earl Marshal, Thomas Lord Bardolf, and many others. The first to appear in arms were Sir John Falconberg, and three other knights in Cleveland. Ralph Neville, from Middleham, and Prince John of Lancaster, immediately dispersed their bands; but when the Archbishop erected his standard at York, such multitudes crowded to it, that on the 9th May he found himself at the head of an army of 15,000 men encamped on Shipton Moor. They fixed on the doors of the churches in York and other places, a defiance of the King, charging him with perjury, usurpation, murder, extortion, and the like. After the defeat of Falconberg's force, Westmoreland marched against them and came up with them in the forest of Galtres, on the 29th May.

By subtle duplicity Westmoreland obtained a conference of the leaders of the rebellion, and having created hesitation in the insurgent ranks, eventually induced the leaders to order the dismissal of their troops. Having thus dispersed their military power, the Earl arrested the Archbishop, the Earl Marshal, and the other leaders who had come to the conference. King Henry had already arrived at Pontefract, and there, where the cruel fate of Richard II. was still the common talk, and a theme so suggestive of the King's unrelenting disposition, the insurgent leaders were brought before him. He ordered them to follow him to Bishopthorpe, the palace of the primate. There he commanded the Chief Justice Gascoigne to pronounce on them sentence of death; but that upright and inflexible judge refused, declaring that he had no jurisdiction over either archbishop or earl, who must be tried by their peers. Sir William Fulthorpe was appointed on the spot Chief Justice of the King's Bench for the occasion. This pliant tool called them at once before him, and without any form of law, indictment, trial, or jury, on the 8th June, condemned them to be beheaded as traitors. The sentence was instantly carried into execution, with many circumstances of wanton and unworthy cruelty. At Durham he commanded the Lord Hastings, Lord Falconbridge, Sir John Coleville of the dale, and Sir John Griffith, to be beheaded for their share in the insurrection.

There was a bitter supplement to this act of Westmoreland's treachery. The old Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, having vainly wandered from kingdom to kingdom, and hopelessly waited for any decisive support from Owen Glendower, their last patron, they determined to make one more descent on England. The last hope of Northumberland was placed on his own people, and the co-operation of the exiled nobles and knights in Scotland. A correspondence was opened with Sir Thomas Rokeby, Sheriff of Yorkshire, who is said to

have lured them on to make their defeat certain. They advanced from Scotland into Northumberland, surprised several castles, and raised the Percy tenantry who were attached to the old chief. Hence they marched on into Yorkshire, and, having reached Knaresborough, were joined by Sir Nicholas Tempest. They crossed the Wharfe at Wetherby. Sir Thomas Rokeby, who appears to have hitherto allowed them uninterrupted progress, now followed them closely, and brought them to action on Bramham Moor, and near Haselwood, 19 Feb., 1408. Northumberland was killed in the battle, and Lord Bardolf taken prisoner, but so grievously wounded that he died in a few days. The bodies of the Earl and of Lord Bardolf were cut into quarters, which were sent to London and other towns, where they were exposed. Henry, on hearing the news, came to Pomfret, 8 April, where he continued for a month busily employed in punishing and fining the prisoners, and in collecting the money for which they compounded their delinquency. The supremacy of the Nevilles was now complete; the meaning of it may be gathered from the following recommendation made by Parliament in 1454:—"Considered the bloode, vertue, and cunnying that Maister George Neville, soon to th'Earle of Salesbury Chancellor of England is of, that he shold be recommised to the Holy Fadre for to be promoted to the next bishopriche that shall voide within this reaume." His flight to the archiepiscopal throne was rapid, almost restless. He was consecrated Archbishop of York in 1464.

It was during the Wars of the Roses that Richard Neville—Warwick, "the King-Maker"—became possessed of Middleham. When the Duke of York found himself deprived of power in 1456, and left the Court, it was with the two Richard Nevilles, father and son, Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, that he retired to Middleham, where they held their plottings. When the queen learnt of this she sought to ensnare her most formidable enemies, and ordered them to attend a council at Coventry. These noblemen, apprehending no danger, set out on their journey with a moderate retinue. As they approached Coventry they were warned by the message of a secret friend at Court, who charged them to fly for their lives. They at once fled different ways with the greatest precipitation. The Duke of York took shelter in his Castle of Wigmore; Salisbury returned to Middleham, while his son Warwick fled to his command at Calais. They were saved from immediate danger, but they were not reclaimed from conspiracy. Drayton tells us—

And towards the Duke he speedy journey takes,
  Who then at Middleham made his next abode,
Which Salisbury his habitation makes
  Whereas their time together they bestowed;
Whose courages the Earl of Warwick wakes
  When he to them his sudden danger showed.
    With a pale visage, and doth there disclose
    The brands set on him both in wounds and blows.

With this direction Salisbury is sent
  Warwick to Calais, with such haste he may
By his much speed a mischief to prevent
  Fearing the time might else be given away.

The Duke of York by general consent
At Middleham Castle they allot to stay,
To raise a second power, if need should be,
To re-enforce them or to set them free.

It was at Middleham that Salisbury was plotting in 1459, after the battle of Bloreheath, while Warwick was in command at Calais, but equally a co-conspirator.

During the changes of these times Warwick frequently stayed at Middleham, surrounded by the pomp and circumstance which his lordly soul beloved. His manner of life here has been finely described by Lord Lytton in "The Last of the Barons." In that book, glowing with the rude splendour of feudalism, may be read how Warwick conducted to Middleham his father-in-law, Edward IV., who subsequently escaped therefrom. The king was as much a prisoner as a guest; his heart may well have sometimes misgiven him within those gloomy walls.

As a specimen of high-handed authority, deliberately pressed upon an opponent, and entirely opposed to conciliation, I may quote the experience of Sir John Neville, Kt., who in 1460 petitioned the queen for livery of his wife's lands. This petition "showeth unto your most noble grace John Nevyll, Kt., and Isabell his wyf, daghter and heire to Edmund Yngaldesthorp, Knyght, that late discesid, the which Edmund held time of his deth, of you in chief divers maners, landes, and tenements." John was described as of Myddelham; he had had to find bond for £1,000 for this livery, although his wife was then above 14 years, the legal age, and yet, notwithstanding that the bond was found, "the said John and Isabell no spede ne day could gitte ne hafe" for the consideration of their grievance. Among the bondsmen we find Thomas Bekwyth de Clynte, armiger, Gerard Salvan, late of Northalverton, and Robert Babthorp, of Babthorp. The whole story may be read in the *Rot. Parl.*, v., p. 387.

There was a lively gathering at Middleham in May 1464, when the Duke of Somerset, endeavouring to raise a rebellion, "gadred a grete peple of the northe contre. And Sere Jhon Nevelle, that tyme beynge Erle of Northumberlande, with 10,000 men come uppon them, and then the comoners fleede that were with them, and then the forsaide lordes were takene and afterwards behededede." These were the affairs which happened at Hedgley Moor and at Hexham. "The Kyng lay in the Palois of York on the 27th May, the day of Holy Trinity, and kept his astate solemply; and did there create he Sir Jhon Neville, Lord Mountage, Erle of Northumberland. And then my lorde of Warrwike toke upon hym the jorney, by the Kyng's commandment and authoritie, to resiste the Rebellion of the Northe, accompanyed with hym my sayde lorde of Northumberlond his brother. The 23 day of Juyne my saide lorde of Warrewike, with the puissaunce, came before the Castelle of Alwike, and at it delivered by appointment; and also the Castell of Dunstanbourghe, where that my said lord kept the feast of Saint John Baptist. My saide lorde of Warrewike, and his broder Erle of Northumberland, the 25th day of Juyn, leyede siege unto the Castelle of Bam-

burghe, there within being Sir Rauf Gray, with suche power as attended for to keepe the said Castelle agen the power of the Kinges and my said Lord." Bamburgh was carried by assault, "mawgrey Sir Rauf Grey and tooke hym, and brought hym to the Kynge to Doncastre. and there he was executed." Those who also suffered were—15 May, decapitated at Exham, the Duke of Somerset, Edmund Fitz Hugh, Kt., Bradshaw, Walter Hunt, Blac Jakis;—27th May, decapitated at Newcastle, Lord Hungerford, Lord Roos, Sir Thomas Fynderum, Edward de la Mare, Nicholas Massam;—18th May, at Middleham, were decapitated Sir Philip Wentworth, William Penyngton, Warde of Topcliffe, Oliver Wentworth, William Spilar, Thomas Hunt "le foteman of King Henry." At York there were beheaded, 25 May, Sir Thomas Husye, Thomas Goree, Robert Merfyan, John Butler, Roger Walter janitor of King Henry, Thomas Fenwyke, Robert Cokfeld, William Bryte, William Dawson, John Chapman; and on the 27th John Elderbeck, Richard Cawerum, John Roselle, and Robert Conqueror. This fiasco brought King Edward to Middleham; he stopped there for a week or so, from the 14th June 1464; he was at York on the 23rd, and at Pontefract on the 9th July.

It was at this period that Warwick's grandeur was more than princely. No less than 30,000 people are said to have lived daily at his board, at his different manors and castles. Stowe tells that "when he came to London he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat; for who, that had any acquaintance in that house he should have as much sodden and rost as he might carry upon a long dagger." It was but a short time before the rupture between the King and the most puissant Earl, who thereupon retired to his Castle of Middleham, which henceforth became the scene of intrigue and seat of ambition. At length came the fatal day of Barnet, Easter Sunday, 1471, the Lancastrian complement of the miserable Palm Sunday at Towton in 1461. The power of the barons was broken for ever. Their great leader lay dead upon the field. Upon the death of Warwick, Middleham Castle fell to his daughter Annie, widow of Edward Prince of Wales, stabbed "on the field of Tewkesbury" by that heroic monster, Richard III. She was therefore daughter-in-law to Henry VI., who was barbarously done to death by the order, if not by the hand, of the same relentless villain, who, by the irony of fate, was destined to become her second husband. Among the first patents of 11th Edw. IV., 1471, we find that the King granted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in special tail, viz., to his heirs male, the castles and manors of Middleham and Shyrefhoton in com. Ebor, the castle and domain of Penreth in Cumberland, and all the other manors and hereditaments which were specially entailed on Richard Neville, late Earl of Warwick, or upon any of his ancestors (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 316).

Annie Neville's denunciation of Richard as the murderer of her husband and her father-in-law, is one of the most burning and scathing passages even in Shakespeare, "Thou dreadful monster of hell"—

"diffus'd infection of a man"—are among the mildest epithets she applies to Crookback. Richard, after his wife had succeeded to Middleham, made it one of his favourite abodes, and there was born in 1473 his only son, who, always sickly and delicate, died in one of the round towers in 1484. Shakespeare was no doubt thinking of the fate of this hapless child, who had been dead little more than a century, when he wrote Richard III., and put into the mouth of Annie Neville the terrible curse upon the offspring of him who was to be her second husband :—

> If ever he have child, abortive be it,
> Prodigious and untimely brought to light,
> Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
> May fright the hopeful mother at the view :
> And that be heir to his unhappiness !

It has been in the period between the erection of the second edifice and the days of the King-maker, that the Woodland surroundings of the castle were altered from their openness of the early days into the enclosures of the parks which became known to us before the end of the fifteenth century. The princely grandeur which flourished under the rule of the King-maker, was not long sustained. The dalesmen appear to have enjoyed some pomp and dignity whilst their fortress was the home of the King. On the 15th February, 1484, the King grants to James Metcalfe, Esq., the King's sergeant, for great pains, charges, and expenses, not only in this kingdom and Scotland, but also, especially lately, about the acceptation of the crown and royal dignity of this kingdom, the office of master forester, or of master of the game, of the King's forests of Wynsladale, Bedale, and Bishopsdale, and the office of Keeper of the King's park of Woodhall in the County of York, and an annuity of £10, with the same office for life. But this period of regal sunshine was as short lived as its author. The accession of Henry VII. was the demolition of the feudal magnificence of Middleham, the date of its decay as a palace and of its abandonment as a garrisoned fortress. On the 24th September, 1485, a grant for life is made to Robert, Lord Fitz Hugh, of the offices of steward of the franchises, constable of the Castle, and bailiff of the liberty of Richmond ; of steward of the lordship and constable of the Castle of Middleham ; of master forester of the parks, forests, and chases thereunto belonging ; of steward and constable of the castle and lordship of Barnard Castle, and of master forester of the parks, forests, and chases thereunto belonging. This was the first step in the reversal of the old order of things ; its import allowed of no misapprehension.

On the 4th February, 1486, there was a grant in survivorship to John Conyers, "Knight for the King's body," and William Conyers, his kinsman and heir, in consideration of good and faithful services to the King, of the offices of bailiff of the franchise and liberty of Richmond, of steward, constable, and master of the forest of the same, together with the offices of constable of the castle of Middleham, with wages and fees

of 200 marks a year out of the issues of the lordships of Scalepark, Raunde, Swaledale, Bowes, Arkylgarth, Thornton, and Erle Orchard. There has been a general appropriation of offices this year. The arrangements shew that for the first time the old feudal household was dispersed. Robert Carre, squire for the King's body, is granted during pleasure the office of constable and porter of the castle, with the keeping of the park there, called Sonnescogh, "wherein our saide castell standith," with wages, fees, &c., out of the lordship of Middleham. Henry, Lord Clifford, is granted, also during pleasure, the offices of chief steward of the lordship of Middleham, of bailiff of the franchise of Richmond, and master of the royal game within the lordship. He is also granted an annuity of 100 marks out of the issues of the lordships.

Richard Conyers obtains a grant of an annuity of £8, out of the issues of a messuage with a mill thereto annexed situate near the Castle of Middleham, which messuage Alice, late Countess of Salisbury, purchased from Thomas Ulsage, and which is for certain reasons in the hands of the Crown. Henry Pudsey has a grant for life, "in consideration of the good and true service whiche oure trusty and well-beloved squire hathe done unto us," of the office of keeper of the park called Cottescough, within the lordship of Middleham. Henry Marton has a grant for life of the office of keeper of the park of Wanneles—Leland calls it Gaunlesse—with wages and fees out of the issues of the lordship of Middleham. Thomas Makworth, one of the grooms of the King's chamber, has a grant for life, in consideration of true and faithful service, of the office of keeper of the park called the West Park of Middleham; he was afterwards appointed bailiff of the town. Thomas Bourton, "yeoman of the stole unto our derrest wif the Quene," has a grant of the office of keeper of the park called Woodall, with wages out of the issues of the lordship; and James Carre is made keeper of the park of Capilbank. Thomas Lynom is granted the offices of surveyor and receiver of the lordship with wages; and Thomas Metcalfe has a similar grant of the office of surveyor of the Castle, and lordship, and of all manors and lordships within the liberties of Richmond, taking out of the issues thereof 10 marks sterling per ann., for executing the same office.

James Metcalfe, Esq., was similarly granted the office of master forester, or master of the game, within the forests of Wenslawdale, Radale, and Bishopdale, and of the office of keeper or parker of the park of Woodhall, in the forest of Wenslawdale, with £10 a year out of the issues of Middleham. as master forester, and 2d. a day as parker. A few months before this Thomas had been rather presuming upon the dignity of his office, for the King has to grant a pardon "to Thomas Metcalf, of Nappey, Esq.," touching all offences against the statutes forbidding badges, liveries of cloths and caps, and retinues, and a further pardon of suit of the King's peace touching all offences; the like pardon having also to be extended to Miles Metcalf, of York. Thomas had also been in greater trouble, for in 1488 a general pardon had to be extended to him.

In Lambert Simnel's rebellion Middleham and its men took part. Pardon is extended to Thomas Otter of Middleham; and Sir William Tyler, Kt., John Clerk, and Thomas Lynom receive the King's command to offer a pardon to the other Yorkshire rebels, especially those within the domains of Middleham and Richmond. This seems to have been one of the last efforts of the ancient life which with its close associations and clanship seem to be entirely breaking up. The appointment of stipendary officials is still continued. In 1487, Christopher Lightfote is granted for life, and in consideration of good service, the office of bailiff of the lordship of Crakehall, with the keepership of the woods of the lordship of Middleham, and to have the ancient and customary wages and emoluments.

On the 26th Dec., 1487, there is a grant in reward of good service to Thomas Wortley, one of the Knights of the King's body, of the offices of constable and porter of the Castle of Middleham, with custody of the park of Swynneskewe, and of the garden there; also of the offices of keeper of the wardrobe of the said Castle, and keeper of the waters called Somerwater there; the grant being made at the Castle of Pountfret. On the 24th Jan., 1487-8, Richard Cholmeley was appointed receiver general of the castles and manors of Shirefhoton, Middleham, and Richmond, Bernard, Cotyngham, Sandall, Hatfeld, Conesburgh, Wakefield, and all the lands belonging to Richard, late Duke of York, of all the manors of Raskall, Sutton, Elvyngton, Essyngwold, and Huby, and to the office of camerarius of Berwick upon Tweed. Out of the rents he collected he had to pay £1833 6s. 8d., in equal portions at Michaelmas and Easter for the charges of the garrison of Berwick.

In 1489, an annuity of 5 marks is granted during pleasure to Brian Metcalf, in reward for his labour in collecting the King's rents and farms in the lordship of Middleham, and especially in the dales of Wensleydale and Bisshoppdale. On the 26th Oct., 1534, John Thoroughgood, officer of the King's buttery, was appointed bow-bearer of Askylgarth-dale, under-steward of Middleham and Richmond, and one of the foresters of Coverdale, with 40/- a year as bow-bearer, 66/8 as under-steward, and 30/4 as forester—on surrender by Nicholas Horneclife, of patent 18th Jan., 1513, granting the same office to him and William Towers, now deceased. On the 10th March, 1535, Ralph Bulmer has a lease of the farm called Slyghthouse, in the vill of Bowes, in the lordship of Middleham, parcel of the lands assigned for the pay of the garrison of Berwick, with reservations, at 66/8 a year and 2/- of increase, payable to the collector of Bowes. These alienations cannot have much reduced the principal emoluments, for in the reign of Queen Mary, the stewardship was sufficiently lucrative to tempt the foremost aristocracy of the neighbourhood to obtain it. In 1557, William Lord Dacre writes to the Queen, that he had heard of the death of Lord Conyers, and solicits the office of steward of Richmondshire and Middleham.

The magisterial duties of the castle officers—the constable especially—had not however entirely ceased in the changes of the times.

A very curious circumstance is reported from Jervaulx on the 12th July, 1535. Sir Francis Bigod writes to Cromwell that he was at Jervaulx Abbey, on Sunday 11th, with Master Thomas Gerrarde, B.D., who preached there the true word of God before the Abbot and his brethren. While he was declaring the authority of every bishop and priest to remit sin, Dan George Laysinbye, one of the monks, interrupted him, and said the Bishop of Rome had the authority over all other bishops. He called the monk before him, and in the presence of the abbot and all the audience asked the cause of his foolishness. His answer was heretical and highly traitorous. Sir Francis caused the constable of Mydlem Castle to take him into custody till the King's pleasure be known. The Abbot and his brethren behaved like honest men. By the Abbot's advice articles were exhibited to the monks, and they all made answer like true subjects. For this interruption and for maintaining that the Pope was the head of the church, the monk was denounced, the denunciation being signed by Adam, Abbot of Jervaux, Sir Francis Bigod, Thomas Fulthorpe, Edward Forest, Thomas Garrard, and by the monk himself, George Lasynby.

A week's confinement in the dungeons of Middleham had but little effect on the spirit of the enthusiastic monk. Sir Francis, who was then making Middleham his head-quarters, again reports that he examined the monk, "who, I assure you, handled himself in defending yonder same idol and blood supper of Rome so boldly and stiffly as I never in all my days saw the like." But learning he has none. He would blind simple folks, and establish his treason with revelations, as he calls them. Sir Francis encloses one of the visions written with the monk's own hand, which, as an exceeding curiosity, I print—

Dan George Laysyngby, monk of Jorovaxe, lyhyng in is bedde shleppyng, thouht that it was in the chyrche, and he thouht women lyke Egygepetces appered to hym, among whome one greater than the eoder, the whych appered with one of hyr papkes rede, and the vyssage of houre Lady apoun hyr breste; the which vyssage comforted hym myche, the whych he toke for Sanct Anne, for a grett ymmayge of Sanct Anne doht stande in the choyd there as he sayde masse, and as he thouht they inquiride for th' Abbot. The whych wyssyoun a good fader of relygion sayde it was a tokyng that puere Jesus dyde vysted is servauntes.

A sorry commentary indeed on the state of religion, as well as the learning of the monks! "He told me divers other" of his visions, continues Sir Francis, writing from Mydlam, "and especially one of Our Lady of the Mountegrace, how he was there in her chapel, and she appearing unto him said, 'George! George! be of good cheer, for I may yet not spare thee!' with such other madness." He also said he was sure the Spirit of God was with him, and was glad to die in so good a quarrel as the defence of the church, "of which the Pope, saith he, is only the head of God's law." I write to you that some of the Mownte were of his council, and so he has confessed; but the Prior prayeth me not to vex any of his brethren, as he had sent you his mind both about himself and them. I see from the Prior that most of his brethren are traitors. He also said that a gentleman of Northumberland, named

Heron, was lately at the Mownte, and desired license of the Prior to convey two of the monks who are traitors into Scotland. We are not told what was the fate of this hapless enthusiast, but we learn a little more of the yet steadfast Romanism of the county, when Sir Francis requests Cromwell to send him word of the King, as he has given lease to the Earl of Northumberland to keep with him daily two of the obstinate friars. "There lieth a great matter in knowledge of that, as I shall tell your mastership at my coming."

Middleham remained in possession of the Crown from the time of Henry VII. to that of Charles I., who sold the manor, although apparently not the castle to the citizens of London. In the interval between these two events, we have Leland's description, which comes upon us with a freshness entirely destructive of the three centuries separating his days from ours. He says, "Middleham upon Ure river, *ripa citeriori*, is a market tounne, and is kept on Tursday. The toune itself is smaule, and hath but one paroche chirche. It hath bene, as sum wene a collegiate church. The parson is yet caullid the Dean of Middleham. The toun is set on a hille side. The greate hil above hit, more than a mile of, is called Penhil and is counted the highest hille of Richmondshire. Middleham castel joynith harde to the toun side, and is the fairest castel of Richmondshire, next Bolton, and the castel hath a parke by hit caullid Soneskue, and another caullid West Park, and the third caullid Gaunelesse, half a mile of. West Parke and Gaunless be wel woddid. There is, at the east side of Middleham, a little hospital with a chapel of Jesus. Wensela is a litel poore market *in ripa superiori Uri*. It standith not far from the West Parke ende of Middleham. The houses of these two tounnes be partly slated and partly thakkid."

In the days of the Stuarts we notice the decline of the castles as a home of feudal grandeur. The *personnel* of its dignity remained, but it was not exalted by the spirit thereof. The two great castles of the vale were left in the hands of superior menials. On the 18th Oct. 1604, a grant was made to Richard Besson of the office of forester of Kettlewell and other places, Alreper of the Carr in Busshopdale, parker of Woodall park, bow-bearer of Arkilgarth-dale and Wensladale, in the lordship of Middleham. King Jamie was squeezing the lordship by a scheme "for increasing the King's revenues by composition with the tenants of Richmond and Middleham." His operations brought about dissatisfaction, for in 1611 the tenants of those manors refuse to pay Sir Thomas Metcalfe the composition ordered. In March 1616 there is a grant to Richard Hutton of the clerkship of the manor, courts, and lordship of Middleham and Richmond, and on the 4th April the grant is made for life. On the 24th June 1625, there is a second grant to Emanuel Lord Scrope of the offices of bailiff, master-forester, and steward of the liberty of Richmond, and of Constable of the Castles of Richmond and Middleham, with the annual fee of £50 6s. 4d. during pleasure. Scrope died in 1630, on the 14th July of which year the grant was made to Thomas Viscount Wentworth, of the office of bailiff

of Richmond, with the chief forestership of the forests and keepership of the Castles of Richmond and Middleham, and the annual fee of £50 6s. 4d., the same being void by the decease of Emanuel, Earl of Sunderland. This was very near the end of the feudal regime; in a few years the civil wars were to occur, and with their termination came the end of the old stronghold. In 1646 the castle was dismantled by order of the Parliamentary Committee which sat at York. Cromwell, however, found it necessary to re-establish the castle as a stronghold. In 1653 there is an allowance to Edward Viscount Loftus, of Ely, for his disbursements in fortifying the castle and his entertainment. In May 1655, there is a statement made by Lilburne that on intelligence that the late rebels intended to possess Middleham Castle, he appointed Capt. Thos. Foster to raise 30 men to secure it, and "prevent insurrections which were in every part, by the plotters against the present Government." This he did accordingly, about the 10th month of that year, and kept his men there and some prisoners of war, but had had no pay or allowances, which are therefore sought for the past and provision for the future. It is recommended that Major Smithson, who lives near, may muster and pay them. They were paid up to January 1656, to the amount of £361, including fire and candles for the guards. A few years later than this, Drunken Barnaby, who after his fashion has a pleasant word to say for the town, also leads us to believe that the destruction was not absolute. He says—

Veni Middlam, ubi arcem	Thence to Middlam, when I viewed,
Vidi, et bibentes sparsim	Th' Castle which so stately shewed;
Bonos socios, quibus junxi	Down the stairs, 'tis truth I tell ye,
Et liquorem libere sumpsi	To a knot of brave boys fell I;
Æneis *licet* tincti *nasis*	All *red noses*, no dye deeper,
Fuimus custodes pacis.	Yet not one but a peace keeper.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

A RELIC OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

THE following schedule of property belonging to the Commandery of Knights Hospitallers at Newland was found in the Bodleian Library, by Mr. John Hanson of Raistrick. The period it represents is the latter half of the fifteenth century, and it is especially interesting by reason of the fulness of its details.

BAILIWICK OF BATLEY.—Parcels of the possessions of the Commandery of Newland, belonging to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

		s.	d.
BATLEY.	The heirs of Sir William Mirfield, Kt., hold there a messuage and certain lands now in the occupation of Richard Clerke. Rent per ann.	0	12
	James Wilbore holds there a tenement. Rent per ann. ...	0	12
	Henry Wilbore holds there a cottage. Rent per ann. ...	0	6
	John Croft holds there a messuage and 3 acres of land, lately occupied by William Scott. Rent per ann.	0	12

		s.	d.
BATLEY (*Con.*)	Robert Clarke holds there a messuage and certain lands, lately in the tenure of Richard Draxe. Rent per ann.	0	4
	The heirs of Elizabeth Hawkesworth hold a tenement and certain lands there, in the occupation of John Hall. Rent per ann.	0	4
	William Chadwicke holds there a messuage and certain lands, Rent per ann.	0	4
	John Dighton holds there a parcel of Emroyde. Rent per ann.	0	2
	John Armitage holds there another parcel of Emroyd, in the occupation of Richd. Smithson. Rent per ann.	0	3
	Robert Clayton holds there another part of Emroyd. Rent per ann.	0	3
	Robert Coventree holds there a messuage and certain lands, lately in the occupation of John Dighton. Rent per ann.	0	4
CHURWELL.	John Burnell holds there a messuage, with a croft and an acre of land by copy of the court. Rent per ann.	0	12
MIRFIELD.	Robert Fourness holds there an acre of land at Northopp, near the road to the north in Mirfield *ad votem Domini.* Rent per ann.	0	3
	William Walker holds there a messuage, with a croft containing 3½ acres and half the land formerly of Richard Tomson. Rent per ann.	0	16
	John Taylor holds in Westerton a messuage and a close called Pettyroyd. Rent per ann.	0	8
WOODKIRKE.	John Sedgefeild holds there one messuage and certain lands, lately in the occupation of Robert Walker. Rent per ann.	0	16
	Lawrence Nailer holds there a messuage, with a croft lately in the occupation of Thomas Pearson. Rent per ann. ...	0	2
ARDISLAWE.	Thomas Gargrave holds there a tenement and a close lying near Ashwell-roode and Palirood and "Comon Oxpte," the former rent being 3s. per ann. The present rent ...	2	0
	John Cunstable holds there a tenement, lately in the occupation of John Taylor and now of Richard Nowell. Rent per ann.	0	12
TYNGELAWE.	Ralph Beiston holds there a tenement. Rent per ann. ...	0	12
LIVERSEDGE GREAT.	The Prioress of Kirklees holds there a messuage and 4 acres of land which Thomas Wilkinson occupies. Rent per ann....	0	12
	The same Prioress holds there a third part of a messuage and one Croft. Rent per ann.	0	4
	Sir Robert Neville, Kt., holds there one essart of land called Martinrood, containing 6 acres by estimation. Rent per ann.	0	12
	The wife of Ralph Stansfield for Hartishead Hall. Former rent 16d. Present rent per ann.	0	14
	William Fearnley holds there 4 acres of land. Rent per ann.	0	7
	Alice Lyversedge, cousin, (*consanginea*) and heir of John Liversedge, holds there a tenement and a bovate of land. Rent per ann.	——	
	The same Alice holds there the half of a messuage, half an acre of land, the former rent being 4d. per ann., but now	0	2
	and for a "certain obit"	6	8
LIVERSEDGE LITTLE.	John Brooke holds in Little Liversedge a tenement and 1 bovate of land. Rent per ann.	0	18
	John Wacker holds there one tenement and certain land under the seal of St. John. Former rent per ann. 12d. Present rent	0	6
	The same owes a certain obit after the death of whom "liberet" as fully appears in his own Indenture	3	4

		s.	d.
GOMERSALE.	Barnard Tylle holds a messuage with a croft and 4 acres of land with a croft. Rent per ann.	0	7
	John Gomersall holds there a messuage with a croft and 2 bovates of land, which John, son of Peter de Gomersale, formerly held. Rent per ann.	0	21
	The same John holds there a messuage with a croft near the messuage of Robert Wheatley. Rent per ann.	0	3
	The same John holds there a garden called Morsley-yeare. Rent per ann.	0	3
	The same John holds there a tenement called Ayrsonhand, in the tenancy of his brother, William Gomersale. Rent per ann.	0	12
NORTHOWRAM.	Henry Balle holds in Northowram a messuage with certain land there, with cottage lately in the occupation of John Balle. Rent per ann.	0	6
	And for a certain obit post decessum cujus liberet Hære ...	3	8
	Richard Saltonstale holds there a tenement with appurtenances lately in the tenancy of Gilbert Saltonstale. Rent per ann.	0	2
	Robert Northend holds there a messuage and 16 acres of land by copy of court. Rent per ann.	3	6
	The same John holds there the manor of Colleye in soccage. Rent per ann.	1	6
EKKERSLEY HALL.	Thomas Savile holds a hall called Ekkersley Hall, lately acquired of Thomas Ekkersley "tibe." Rent per ann. ..	0	6

Heckmondwike. FRANK PEEL.

INDUSTRIAL.

THE ANCIENT CLOTH TRADE.—ITS TRICKS AND FALLACIES.

TO greater blunder is to be found among the mass of errors which make up accepted English history previous to the fifteenth century, than the statement that the English cloth trade owes its existence to the introduction of Flemings by King Edward III. The trade existed and flourished in the Anglo-Saxon days, when it had a European reputation. In the days of King Alfred Englishmen in general were the most sumptuously dressed of men. Their textile system was introduced into France, especially at Brie, in Champagne, where their method and teaching were thankfully received. The Anglo-Saxon maidens of the very highest rank spun their own gowns, and in the combination of their natural and vestural beauty they were then as now the goddesses of the earth. Their labours were maintained without interruption to the days of our great-grandmothers. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1790 notices the marriage of a lady of Wrelton in a gown of her own spinning. The French chronicler, William of Poictou, a contemporary of the Conqueror, tells us that the Anglo-Saxon ladies were so famous for their skill in needlework and embroidery in gold that their inimitable productions were called *Anglicum Opus*, as a generic name of the highest class of work. The same writer also records that the English clothmakers very much excelled in their several arts and productions.

In Yorkshire and the Norse districts generally Ragnar Lothbrog—Ragnar of the shaggy breeks, *Villosa femoralia*, as Saxo interprets—and his Vikings during the period of their scramble for rule had a dreadful effect upon the textile as upon all other industries. Yet even during their industrial blight the art was kept alive by the old wandering monk-craftsman, known in the Saxon monasteries as a *Salavagus*. There can

be no doubt whatever that the "hermits" whom Abbot Alexander found at the nook in Headingley, to be called Kirkstall after he had tricked and ousted them, were *Salavagi*, whose presence and craftsmanship are not dim in illustration of the trade of mediæval Leeds. His name had been softened to Salavage in the thirteenth century, by which time his reputation had descended to that of a cadger, and his former existence is to-day certified by our name of Savage. The evil effects of the Norsemen upon industrial skill the Conqueror himself was the first to rectify. Of the troops who had come over with him on his errand of conquest, none were more loyal or more hardy than the Flemings. Most skilful as craftsmen, and most trustworthy as soldiers, the Conqueror saw that they were the material to graft upon this turbulent stock, whom they were the most likely to reclaim in arts, and not the least likely to repress in arms.

Their early presence in Yorkshire is well attested. The notorious Drogo de Bruere settled them in Holderness, and Hull eventually became a great port. More than individuals of them obtained land in the great Laci fee, which stretched from Pomfret to Blackburn, in Lancashire. Reyner, the Fleming, founded Kirklees Nunnery. The family of Fleming of Rydal attests their presence in Cumberland. Gilbert de Gant fixed their name in the Viking district of North Lincolnshire, where he established the blood of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders; as Walter de Gant, another kinsman, did in Swaledale and thereabouts, where the great Cistercian monasteries were so soon to raise their lofty crests. Elsewhere we have mention of the men of Ypres and Louvaine; and when, some half century after the Conquest, other untamed and desolated lands within reach of the Norman sceptre had to be reduced to law and order, our chronicler, Roger de Houeden, informs us of another very remarkable fact. He says, "In the year 1111, Henry, King of the English, removed the people of Flanders, who inhabited Northumbria, with all their chattels, into Wales, and gave them orders to colonise the district which bears the name of Ros." As his father had done with their fathers, he used these stubborn craftsmen alike for the purposes of war and industry. The excellent effects of his astute policy became visible before the close of the century. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his itinerary of Wales, observes that "the inhabitants of the district of Ross, in Pembrokeshire, who derived their origin from Flanders, were much addicted to and greatly excelled in the woollen manufactory." John Brompton, a Northumbrian chronicler, Abbot of Jervaux, tells us that besides the great number of Flemings who came over in the army of the Conqueror, there were several considerable immigrations of them into England at future times, especially in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen.

The internal troubles of the kingdom during the close of the Norman dynasty do not seem to have generally affected the progress of the textile art to a material extent. For the improvement of their craft the weavers in all the great towns of England had certainly then begun

to form themselves into guilds or corporations, and had various privileges bestowed upon them by royal charter, for which they had paid fines into the Exchequer. The weavers of Oxford, for instance, paid a mark of gold for their fine in 1139. Those of London paid £16 for theirs in 1150. Those of Lincoln paid two "chaceures" or hunting dogs for theirs in 1146. I lack the precise evidence that the York guild was then established as firmly as any of these; but there is proof that in the reign of Richard, half a century later, the guild then existed, and was second only to that of London. A little later, in 1201, the weavers (*Telarii*) of York rendered account to the Treasury of £10 for their guild; those of London £12; of Nottingham and Huntingdon 40s.; of Oxford £6 and one mark of gold; and among the trade transactions of that year we find that one Yorkshire clothier, Simon the Dyer, rendered account to the Treasury of 100s. for selling wine against the assize. Possibly the good town of Leeds had an especial interest in this reprobate, for at the very time we find Simon the Dyer a witness to one of the Kirkstall charters, and as such he would necessarily be a man of some standing, which the payment of a fine of 100s. would certainly require. It is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that woollen yarn, and even cloth, were exported from England in large quantities at this very time. It is not insignificant that in 1234, the King had to grant a patent of protection for the merchants of Brabant and Lorraine, which was frequently repeated. The woollen manufactures had long previously become the subject of legislation.

In 1197, a law was made for regulating the fabrication and sale of cloth, it being then enacted—"That all woollen cloths shall everywhere be made of the same breadth, namely, two ells within the lists, and of the same goodness in the middle as at the sides. The ell shall be the same over all the kingdom, and shall be made of iron. No merchant in any part of the kingdom shall stretch before his shop or booth a red or black cloth or any other thing by which the sight of buyers is frequently deceived in the choice of good cloth. No cloth of any other colour than black shall be sold in any part of the kingdom, except in cities and capital burghs; and in all cities and burghs four or six men, according to the size of the place, shall be appointed to enforce the observation of these regulations by seizing the persons and goods of all who transgress them." This remarkable law demonstrates that the manufacture of broad cloth had then arrived at such a considerable maturity as to arrest national attention and to require legal protection. King John taxed foreign merchants rather severely. In 1204, he ordered that Flemish and all other foreign merchants, then trading in the kingdom, should give him one-fifteenth part of their merchandise. The terms of the protective law imply great dishonesty in the trade. Our neighbours were found broadcast among the offenders. Their example spread over the whole country. In the reign of Edward I., the jurors appointed to inquire into trade abuses say that Richard the Dyer, of Schipton; William the Croper, of the same place; Hutting, of Schipton;

and Adam, son of Thomas de Alton, in the usual fashion make cloth not of the right breadth. In the Ainsty, also, the assize of russet and dyed cloth is not according to the King's assize of two ells within the lists. It will hardly be within our belief that the English merchants were models of simple honesty; but it must be said to their credit that their foreign associates had a corrupting influence upon them. In 1269, the merchants of Florence gave to the King a fine of £1000 for using false weights. In 1270, the Flemings obtained permission to introduce woollen cloth into the kingdom, perhaps as a punishment of native iniquity, for in the same year there had to be an enquiry as to cloths not being made according to the old assize. In the North Riding especially there was wide-spread cheating, and most persistent evasion of the law against exporting wools. The jurors say that Robert de Irenpurs (name generic and significant), of Alverton; William, his brother; Alan Pichard, Galfrid de Alverton, merchant; Robert de Hou, in Stokesley; Bernard de Swayneby, in Ripon; William Redhead, Walter de Routhecleve, Richard Scot, Henry Munkeman, William Scibeller, and Walter Bubber, make and buy cloths, which at first have not the due measurement. They put them on a tenter, and make them longer and broader.

The cloth making at this period even was not wholly domestic. There is sufficient proof that English traders were already cautiously finding markets beyond the sea. We have an excellent example in John's reign. In 1204, John de Beverley (Belvac') gave the King 20 marks for leave to take his ship of London whither he wished with the following chattels, viz., 101 bacons, 28 little pigs, 1 tun of honey, 1 last allec', 1 tun casseporc', 8 lasts of hides, 22 sacks of wool, and 4 pieces of escarlet and 10 pieces Estanford (? Stamford-cloth). The indication of the kinds of the textile fabrics is very interesting. We have an excellent glimpse of its local aspect in an edict of Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York. In 1228, he gave a charter of privileges to his tenants of Sherburn, in which we find the following clause:—"And we do not wish that any one of our burgesses in our burgh of Sireburn shall have an oven, dye-pan, or fulling stocks, upon our forfeiture by these customs. Whoever shall use our dye-pan may, in whatever week he pleases, have a cart-load of dead wood from our wood at Sireburn." As a concession this seems to point to economy of working, to the establishment of the equivalents of the modern dye-house, whose combination was likely to lessen waste, and so produce more by the same means than divided effort could hope for. We have an instance of an early "strike" against the introduction of machinery. It occurs in 1463. Every fuller, in his craft and occupation of fulling and raising cloth, shall "exercise and use tazels and no cardes in dessayvably hurting the said cloths" upon pain of yielding to the party hurt in that behalf double damages. The Justice, of the Peace and Mayors, &c., of cities and burghs to have power to determine complaints and impose punishments. And it is further ordained—"That for the great deceit

done in working of woollen cloth fulled in mills called "gyg mylles and toune mylles, that all such milles be utterly left and not used, and that he that occupieth any such mille after the feast of St. John the Baptist forfeit for every of the said mille so occupied £40, the one-half to the King and the other half to him that will sue as by action of debt." This penalty, considering the rent and capabilities of such mills, must have been enormous. At the close of the seventeenth century Pitfall Mills, in Leeds, were occupied by William Rooke, an alderman and ex-Mayor of the town. They were at the foot of the bridge, possessed ample water-power, and we know that their rent was to him only £30 per annum.

The drain of money from England occasioned by the losses and expenses of the Crusades was the starting-point of the great exportation of wool, which had so vast and varied an influence upon England for the century succeeding the Holy Wars. But we cannot attribute the whole or even the greater part of this loss of trade either to the Crusades or to the destructive effects of the civil wars of the reign of Henry III. The ordinary law of political economy, the law of supply and demand, has had a greater influence in that direction than even the losses and disasters of war could counter-balance. In other words, the system of husbandry introduced by the Cistercian monks, and practised by them for some four score years before the close of the twelfth century, the end of the career of Cœur de Lion, had created a greater supply than any possible demand for mere domestic consumption could dispose of. The consolidated power of the followers of St. Bernard of Citeaux lay in the Viking districts between the Wash and the Tees; and it is precisely in these districts that the great wool marts of the Plantagenet era were found. London, as the centre of power and the mart of the country, may perhaps boast of the earliest organisation of trade; but York and Lincoln are undoubtedly the earliest emporiums of raw material. The wool and cloth trade of Boston especially was immense. A tax, levied in 1204, produced £780 from Boston and £836 from London, and this accurately measures the general prosperity of the places. In the midst of his protective measures, we find, however, that John relaxed in favour of the Knights Templars, for in 1213 he granted them leave to sell their wool in countries beyond the sea. Henry III. was less exclusive, for in 1260, he granted that foreign merchants might deal freely at Lincoln. The cloth workers were the first to commence the organisation of labour: the *Gilda Tellariorum* being the oldest of the London companies. In 1308 there were "above 280 burrillers" in London alone.

If, however, we have to look to London for an early illustration of the progress of the woollen manufacture, it is to the north that we must look for the combined production and consumption of the raw material. Hull, really founded by Edward I., and Ravenser, now lost and but a name in history, though then a very ancient and flourishing port, were the great depôts of the Yorkshire export trade. In 1302 the King

granted to Richard de Merewell for his good services, &c., the custody of the pessage of lead and the tronage of wool (both of which were dues for weighing those articles) in the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which are worth £6 per annum, to have with all their appurtenances as he shall well and faithfully bear himself in the same. In 1321 we find an unwonted feature in the home trade. Adam Huntman, citizen of London, took 13 "sarplares" of wool, worth £140 sterling, from England over to St. Omer—*pro comodo inde ibidem faciendo*—for the profit of making it there, which may be that he would find labour cheaper, as so many of his successors have since done. In the same year Richard de la Pole and Robert de Burton were appointed to collect the cloth tolls in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull. We have occasional peeps at the home manufactories. In 1323 the King granted to Nicholas le Lystere, of Ripon, his mills under the Castle of York, with the profits thereof, for a term of six years, and free entrance and exit as well by land as by water, at a rent of 40 marks, and the said Nicholas shall keep the mills in repair. In 1329 the Sheriff of York is ordered to repair the head of the King's Weir in the river Foss out of the issues of his bailiwick—a course which gives us a picture of the ancient state of affairs there.

In 1324 the men of Scardeburgh petition the King to grant them a "trone" for weighing wool. "Much of the wool of the dales," say they, "and of the moor of Blackhowe now sent to Kingston-upon-Hull for exportation, could be weighed and transmitted by them at a great saving to the producer, and without damage to the King, if the trone were granted." In 1327 Adam de Semer and Henry de Rooston had granted to them the levying and collecting the toll of wool in the harbours of Scardeburgh and Whiteby. In 1330 the King granted to Adam de Coppendale and Hugh le Taverner the levying and collecting of the customs of wool, &c., in the ports of the towns of Kyngeston-upon-Hull and Ravenserode. In the next year he granted to Hugh de Taverner and Henry de Burton the same things in the same places. In 1335 John de Billingham and John de Nessebit had the collection of the custom of wools in the port of Hertilpole. All this, of course, is evidence of the long previously settled condition of the trade. Towards the end of the thirteenth century there was a company of English merchants in existence called the brotherhood of St. Thomas à Becket. The design of the company was to rival the foreigners, Jews, and the Hanse merchants of the Steel-yard, in the exportation of woollen cloth. The truth therefore seems to be that during the wars of the reign of Edward I., and the calamities of that of Edward II., the English cloth trade had become so distracted by the reckless exportation of wool and the demoralising operations of the merchant strangers that reorganisation was absolutely necessary; and beyond all that, the introduction of Flemish workmen in and about the year 1344 was really a mere counterpoise against the trades unions of Flanders, much more than a necessity

of technical development in England. Edward's course appears to have been the result of the old story—

> In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
> Was in giving too little and taking too much.

The Dutch were then everywhere controlling these markets to the detriment of the English trade. In 1347 the Commons pray that the staple of wool, which is the "Sovereigne Tresor" of the kingdom, held at Bruges, in Flanders, ought to be "franche et libre;" that all manner of merchants should be able there to buy freely merchandise belonging to the said staples. The franchise then had been so controlled that men could not buy according to ancient usage except the men of Flanders and Brabant. I will quote a fact in the history of the trade which may be well generally as a lesson for the present day. In 1344 it was decreed "that the ordinances made before this time upon the price of sorts of wool in every county be wholly annulled and defeated; and that every man, as well stranger as privy, from henceforth may buy wools according as they may agree with the seller, as they were wont to do before the said ordinances; and that the sea be open to all manner of merchants to pass with their merchandise when it shall please them." Fair Trade was of no consideration then; it was Free Trade that had to be again resorted to.

It is astonishing how little development there has been in the class of materials produced by the trade. The fabrics we use to-day were mostly, if not entirely, in use among our ancestors more than six hundred years ago—Cogware and Kendal cloth, frieze of Coventry, blankets and russets of Devon and Cornwall, into which the makers might put flocks; but in all other parts of the country "all manner of corrupt stuff" was sternly prohibited. Our ancestors did not love flocks, although they were frequently compelled to tolerate their use. Though in some districts it might be allowable to use them in the manufacture of inferior cloth, they must not anywhere be used for the stuffing of beds. A curious expression of repugnance to them comes up in 1494, when upholsterers were prohibited making "beds of unlawful and false wares and merchandise, as in feather beds, bolsters, and pillows made of two manner of corrupt stuff, that is to say of scaled feathers and dry-pulled feathers together, and of flocks and feathers together, which is contagious for man's body to lie upon." Henceforth no person shall offer for sale in fair any feather beds, bolsters, or pillows, "except they be stuffed with one manner of stuff, as dry-pulled feathers, or clean down alone, and with no scaled feathers or other corrupt stuff."

In kerseymeres we have one of the oldest designations in the trade, and one whose manufacture was widest spread. In the reign of King John, William de la Kersimere and Agatha his wife were living in Norfolk. In 1201, William de la Kersimere paid 5 marks for having a writ "de morte antecessoris" for a Knight's fee in Cumberland. In 1216, Eustace de la Kersimere is mentioned in Yorkshire as being sent

by the King to the Bishop of Durham. In 1270, Thomas le Lynge-draper and Agnes his wife offer half a mark for a writ "ad terminum" in Middlesex. In 1271, Alan le Teynturer (?Tenterer and not Dyer in this instance) and Matilda his wife, Hugh le Teynturer and Eda his wife, and Nicholas the son of Tiffanie, give half a mark for a writ "ad terminum" in co. York. In the same year, Richer le Tundur (Dyer) and Avelina his wife offer half a mark in Norfolk. Jordan de Chaluner and Alice his wife gave half a mark for an assize "de morte antecessoris" in Somersetshire; John, son of Elgar le Teynturer, in Derby; Robert de Bercher, in Somerset; John, son of William Tinctor, of Richmond, Yorkshire; Richard le Chaloner and Levyna his wife, in Middlesex; and in 1272, we find mention of Henry le White (the Bleacher) and Margery his wife. In the reign of King John, Andrew Neulun, of London, offers "three cloaks of Flanders for wet weather" to have the King's petition to the Prior of Chicksand to hold the agreement made between them. In 1377, William Tunder, of York, gave the King 20s. for leave to grant a toft, with its appurtenances, in York, to a chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Mary in the church of St. George, in Fyshergate. In the same year we have an exemplification of an Act of Parliament published concerning Cogwares and Kerseyes at the request of the community of Suffolk and Essex.

It would be very interesting to know what were the fashionable colours in those days; but certain knowledge of that subject may not now be within our reach. Scarlet, however, was one of them; it was the favourite colour of the gallant and the gay, most worthy alike of the warrior and the Queen of Beauty. The taste for it was of very old standing. The "scarlet cloths of England" figure in the Chronicles of Orkney as early as the twelfth century, when a daring Orkney pirate made a successful "scarlet cruise." Chaucer, too, and the oldest of the balladists, are very fond of "scarlet red." We read of that dainty dame the wife of Bathe—

> Of cloth-makyng sche hadde such an haunt,
> Sche passeth hem of Ypres and of Gaunt.

And this being so, of her fashionable attire we find that

> Hire hosen were of fyn scarlett reed,
> Ful streyte y-teyed, and schoon ful moyste and newe,
> Bold was her face and fair and reed of hewe.

Red, in its varied shades, was a very favourite colour of our ancestors. The deep red colour which the low Latin word *blodius* expresses was at every turn. A red-faced wench was often called a *blouse*, and a high-coloured, sanguine complexion was frequently described as a *blousing* colour. One of the coarser red dyes, a favourite with the peasantry, was stammel.

> After the Prince got to the keeper's lodge,
> And had been jocund in the house awhile,
> Tossing off ale and milk in country cans,
> Whether it was the country's sweet content,

Or else the bonny damsel filled us drink,
That seemed so stately in her stammel red,
Or that a qualm did cross his stomach then,
But straight he fell into his passions.

Greene, 1594.

Ben Jonson, in the same era, says thus—

Reedhood the first that doth appear
In stammel; scarlet is too dear.

Chaucer's Doctor of Physic was a swell :—

In sanguine and in pers he clad was, al
Lyned with taffata and with sendal.

King John wore a scarlet cloak, furred with sendal, and he occasionally made presents of such cloaks to the great men of his Court. The Frere was less conspicuous, but still pronounced :—

He was not like a cloysterer
With a threadbare cape, or a pore scoler,
But he was like a maister or a Pope;
Of double worstede was his demy-cope.

Serge was a very old wear, and a somewhat plebeian material. Chaucer acknowledges this in his description of—

The citie large,
Hangyng with cloth of gold, and not with sarge.

Frieze had so greatly descended in the scale of respectability, that Oldham, speaking of the needy in London in 1680, says—

Low as their fortune is, yet they despise
A man that walks the streets in homely frieze.

Tammy, a cloth much made in the Leeds market a century ago, had an existence in the Tudor days, and may have been akin to the stammel already mentioned. Massinger says—

Pity her! Trample on her!
I took her up in an old tamin gown
(Even starved for want of twopenny chops), to serve thee.

According to the will of Thomas Gryscop, of York, chapman in 1446, he had in his shop pieces of Braban cloth, Chaumpan cloth, three pieces of blewe bokasyn, and one of grene bokasyn, fustyan, terteryn, blak bokeram, quysshyn cloth, lewent and double lewent. In the inventory of Canon William Duffield, 1452, we find a banquer of cloth blodio sago (?blankets) antiquo lyned cum canvas, bed curtains of worsted, costers of blodio worsted; red worsted is freely used for bed furniture; white cloth and curtains of white terteryn, curtyns of serico purpill colour. Among the goods of Elizabeth Sewerby, 1468, we find two cloths "de rubio bukram, embroidered cum le flokkes, cum le reddiles." At this time we also find ancient dames leaving to younger females their finery—in one instance a gown of cremysyn penulatam cum martys, and in another a gown of scarlette syngle. Gryscop was a man in a large way of business, yet his stock and debts only amounted to £132 6s. 1½d., while he owed £56 10s. 6d.

The York wills of the fifteenth century disclose the fact that the domestic manufacture of cloth was everywhere prevalent, there being weavers and dyers met with all over the county. William Lister, of Halifax, draper, who died in 1471, had married his daughter Alice to one of the Saviles. It is alleged that the habit of singing during their labour, so prevalent among clothworkers, was introduced by the Protestants who came from Flanders; but the statement may indeed be little more than a groundless assumption, for, as weaving was a female occupation, and singing is still one of the characteristics ofhappy maidenhood, it is only too probable that the custom was as much English and of antiquity as Flemish and imported. Ben Jonson alludes to the custom, making Cutbeard state "he has got this cold with sitting up late and singing catches with clothworkers." I do not know that we are to understand that sitting up late was also one ofthe imported customs.

Leeds. W. WHEATER.

Mr. C. D. Hardcastle, referring to the subject, says:—I have been reminded of a conversation I had a few years ago with a prominent Leeds gentleman well acquainted with the various branches of the cloth trade. The topic was the difference between the cloth of forty years ago and that then in process of manufacture. It having been remarked that there was now so little substance in the cloth, and so little nap to raise and cut off, that teazles and shearing machines were scarcely required, the gentleman in question said, "In finishing some kinds of cloth, instead of raising the nap, as was formerly, they make the cloth without nap, and put one on with glue or size." This was spoken of as a modern invention. I had an impression that it was not so very modern, or, if so, was a revival of an old custom; and on arriving home referred to an early edition of Hugh Latimer's sermons, and in the third of "Seven Sermons preached by the Reverend Father, Master Hugh Latimer, before our late Soveregne Lord of famous memmory, King Edward the 6, within the preaching place, in the Palace at Westminster, 1549, on the 22 of March," I met with the following remarkable passage:—

"I here say there is a certain cunning come up in the mixing of wares. How say you, were not a wonder to heare that clothmakers should become Poticaries, yea, and as I heare say, in such a place, whereas they have professed the Gospel and the Word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the devil is to slander the word of God. Thus the poor Gospel goeth to wracke. If his cloth be 17 yeards long, he will set him on a racke and rack him till the sinnews shrink again, while they have brought him to 18 yeardes. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thich him againe. He makes me a powder for it, and plaies the Poticary, they call it flock powder; they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider: truly a good invention. Oh that so goodly

wittes should be so ill applyed, they may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flockes, and it was a good bed too. Now they have turned flockes into powder, to play the false theeves with it. O wicked devil ; what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plaine theft. Wo worth, that these flockes should slander the word of God ; as he said to the Jewes, the wine is mingled with water, so might he have said to us of this land, thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder."

COAL MINING IN HALIFAX.

The earliest allusions in original documents to coal mining in Yorkshire that I have met with occur in the Wakefield Court Rolls, where in 1308 it is recorded that license was granted by the Lord of the Manor to Richard the Nailer to dig for coals in the greaveship of Hipperholme; and in 1335 Richard Gibson is entered on the same Rolls as paying a fine for having dug for coals in the same greaveship. In the Assize Rolls, 2 Richard II. (1378), I find that, "Johannes Stra de Handesworth Woodhous venit juxta unum colepitte et subito per infortunium cecidit in puteum unde submersus fuit;" which may be interpreted, "John Stra of Handesworth Woodhous approached nigh unto a 'colepitte,' and suddenly by mischance fell into the pit and so was drowned." In the Wakefield Court Rolls, 1401.—Northowram.—Richardus Batte, const. & socii sui jur., presentant quod Ricus. de Mekesburgh aperuit solum domini in Shipden & adquisivit carbones marinos ibidem sine lic.; which may be translated to this effect :—" Richard Batte, constable, and his sworn fellow-officers, present that Richard of Mekesburgh has opened the soil of the Lord in Shipden and acquired sea coals there without license."

In the same Court Rolls, under the year 1402, we find this entry: —" Item xij. putei carbonum marinorum in Horbury lyghtes venduntur diversis tenentibus de Horbury hoc anno pro xxxjs. vjd."—*i.e.*, " 12 pits of sea coals in Horbury lyghtes are sold this year to divers tenants of Horbury for 31s. 6d."

Jackson's " History of Barnsley" contains the following statements of early coal-mining in the neighbourhood thereof. Jackson first gives an extract from a Court Roll of a Court held at Darton, four miles from Barnsley, in the first year (1413) of the reign of Henry V. :—Item dicunt quod Johannes Dodeson (iijd.), Johannes Frith (iiijd.), Johannes Betram (iiijd.), Thomas (iiijd.) frater ejus, sine licencia domini, et Adam Lawton (iiijd.) perquisiverunt carbones infra vastum domini Ideo ipse in mia. From this it appears that John Dodeson, John Frith, John Betram, Thomas (his brother), and Adam Lawton sought for coals at Darton beneath the lord's waste without his (the lord's) consent, for which they were fined as in the sums set against their names. The

jurors also found that William West sought for coals under the lord's waste. In another record of a Court held in the same place, A.D. 1624, they also present Michael Wentworth, Esq. (xxxixs. xid.), this being probably the highest penalty that could be inflicted, because he did not fill up or cover the old coalpits by him dug on the commons of Darton township, as he was enjoined by penalty at the last Court imposed on him, to the great danger of the passers by there.

There appears to be no mention of coal having been got at Barnsley previous to the middle of the seventeenth century. This was, no doubt, attributable to the plentiful supply of wood with which the neighbourhood formerly abounded. Not that the inhabitants were so long ignorant of this mineral, but wood being more easily procured, and our ancestors not having the advantages of the mechanical contrivances by which coal is now so readily won, we can at once excuse them from putting forth great efforts for its acquisition. Consequently, it was only obtained where it lay near the surface; and when it became necessary, from the increase of the population, to burn coal, means were found to obtain it. In 1650 it appears to have been pretty generally used in Barnsley. A lease of coal under a close of land called Coal-pit Close, part of Keresforth Farm, was granted to Abram Rock for one year, at the rent of £17; mines of coal under this land having been granted unto the lessors by William Beaumont, of Darton, yeoman, in 1675. By reason of the prevalence of gas in coal mines, explosions frequently occur, which are sometimes attended with great sacrifice of life. It appears our ancestors suffered from accidents of this nature; for an explosion of fire-damp took place in a coal-pit at Barnsley on the 11th of July, 1672, which resulted in the death of one James Townend. In 1716 the trustees of the Shaw lands leased the same to John Shippen for a period of four years, to sink a coal-pit, he paying annually the sum of £25. There has been a great alteration in the price of coal. In 1745 it realised 1s. per ton; in the year 1789, 2s. 6d. was paid for the same quantity; while at the present day (1858) the prices at the pit for house coal range from 6s. to 7s. per ton (and now, 1885, 10s. per ton). The bed from which these coals are taken is of a thickness of 9 feet and upwards of minable coals, and a depth of 100 to 200 yards from the surface of the ground. The yield of the mines at Barnsley and neighbourhood is immense, many thousand tons being daily taken therefrom; the greater part of which is sent off by railway and boat.

In an interesting lease of a small holding called "Dove House," now forming part of the Shibden Hall estate, dated 1483, the lessee is empowered during the term of his tenancy "pro carbonibus suis fodere, sed non alicui vendere—(to dig for his own coals, but not to sell them to any one)." These coals were, I presume, obtained from a thin seam of only about 10in. in thickness, locally known as the "36yd. Band Coal," from its occurring that number of yards above the "Upper" or "Hard Bed" coal, and which has its outcrop in the land that was subject to this old lease. This "Band Coal" overlies a bed of excellent

fireclay, which, at the present day, promises to surpass in value any of the Halifax beds of coal. In Cartwright's "Chapters of the History of Yorkshire," we find an instance of an early mine. In a letter therein published, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Vice-President of the Council of the North, writing 6th January, 1569-70, from York, to Sir William Cecil, "humbly desires" him to help the bearer of the letter—Martin Birkhead, of Gray's Inn (a Wakefield man, afterwards appointed Her Majesty's attorney to the Council of the North)—to a "new lease" of a coal mine lately sequestered on account of its former tenant being a "Popish recusant."

From the Public Record-office I have been enabled to gather additional and somewhat interesting information regarding coal mining in Yorkshire in the sixteenth century. Among the *Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings* is to be found a "Bill of Complaint," addressed by Henry Farrer, of the Ewode, Esq., to the Right Hon. Sir Thos. Heneage, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. It is dated the 33rd year of Elizabeth, and by its recitals explains the manner in which the Farrers had become entitled to their mineral possessions in the township of Northowram and elsewhere. This Henry Farrer, the plaintiff in the suit in the Duchy Court, in his bill of complaint recites that whereas Her Majesty (Queen Elizabeth) was lawfully seised in fee, in right of her Duchy of Lancaster, among other things, in "one myne of coales" within the graveship of Hipperholme, with all rights, &c., and the several "colebeddes" to the same mine appertaining, lying, and being in a place called Godley Lane, in the township of Northowram, as parcel of her Manor of Wakefield, parcel of the annexed possessions of the said Duchy, on or about the 9th February, 24th of Her Majesty's reign (1582), the plaintiff, Henry Farrer, took of Her Majesty, in the Manor Court of Wakefield, by virtue of a writing, signed with the hand of William Tusser, Esq., Clerk of the Duchy Court, All the said mine of coals, with free liberty from time to time to make and dig the "soughes and newe pittes to every parcel and member of the same several coal beddes, for the wynding and geatinge of the same coales, and the same coales soe theare had and gotten to carry awaie, sell & converte to the proper use of your said orator, his heirs & assigns." Being so seised, Henry Farrer "did to his greate costes and charges sincke, digge & make one pitt for the wynding and geating of coales, at a place called Stump Crosse, in the sayd place, called Godley Lane, parcell of the said wastes of the said towenshipp of Northowram and grafshipe of Hipperholme."

But "John Drake, of Horley grene, Northowram, & one John Robucke, his servant, have most wrongfully entered & intruded into & upon the said coal mine, and into the said several beds of coals, &c., and by coler that the same coale myne doth adjoyne and abutt upon one close of pasture ground" of the said John Drake, in Northowram, called the Flaskey, &c., have digged, sunken, and made one greate and deepe pitt in that syde of the said close, which is next adjoining to the said coal

mine to your orator so granted, and there have digged so far under the ground, that they have gotten and encroached above 400 yards of the said mine and beds of coal within the said waste of the township of Northowram, amounting to 2,000 horse loads of coals and above, and have very cunningly drawn up the same at the said pit by them so made in the side of the said close, immediately adjoining upon your orator's said mine, and have sold, carried away, and converted the coals drawn up to their own use. And not herewith satisfied, the said John Drake, John Robucke, and others, have now, of late, at several times, in most forcible and violent manner, felled and cut down all the heads, pillars, and other works, being placed and made within the grounds of your orator's said mine, at your orator's great charges, for bearing up of the ground there; and the same being by them so forcibly cut down, all the earth and ground thereof did, presently, thereupon, by the space of 40 yards, sink and fall into the same soughs and pits so suddenly that the cutters of the same works hardly escaped away alive; and by means thereof the said Drake and others have barred your said orator for getting of any coals there, and have defaced, cut down, utterly spoiled and destroyed the same and all other of your orator's works there made for getting and winning of coals, which stood your said orator in £100, and by means whereof your said orator shall be less able, or not so able, to pay and answer the yearly rent to Her Majesty," &c.

How the suit proceeded and ended we know not, for neither the defendant's answer nor the judgment of the Court is preserved; but the case is a good example of coal-poaching in the Elizabethan days, and shows that that evil practice is by no means a thing of yesterday.

In the third year of Queen Elizabeth (1560-1), in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster, a bill was filed by William Fornes, of Shelf, yeoman, who held a lease of that manor from the Queen, against Robert Sunderland and others, complaining that they had broken and dug the "orator's" ground in his manor of Shelf, and "there do make colle pittes and get colles," refusing to pay any consideration for the same.

From the "Index of Leases" of the Duchy of Lancaster it appears that the following leases of minerals were made by the Crown in the time of Queen Elizabeth :—

The coal mines being on the waste called Lofthouse Moore and Roodesmoore to Jo. Mallett.

The coal mines in Wakefield to Edward Carye at an annual rent of 26s. 8d. for 21 years. In the 18th and 19th Elizabeth, 1575, license was granted to John Nutter to dig sea coals in a close called Ingclose in Rothwell, at a rent of 3s. 4d. for 21 years. In the 22nd Elizabeth, a lease to Edward Carye, of the coal mines in Wakefield Park, of which he was keeper. In the 29th Eliz., Edward Carye took another lease of all the mines in Horbury at a rent of £2 2s. In the 31st Eliz., Jo. Chappel took a lease of divers coal mines belonging to the Chantry of

St. John in Barnsley for 21 years at a rent of 10s. In the 35th and 36th Eliz., the coal mines in a certain place in Pountefrett, commonly called the "Parke Common," were let to Edward Talbott for 21 years at a rent of 10s. In the 28th Eliz., the coal mines within the waste of Ossett, parcel of Wakefield Manor, were let to John Wade and others for a term of 21 years at the annual rent of 3s. 4d. In the 39th and 40th Eliz., another lease of the "seacoles" within the waste of the greaveship of Ossett was granted to Jo. Wade for 21 years at a rent of 3s. 4d. In the 41st Eliz., the mines and pits of sea coals within the extra-manorial wood of Wakefield, in the greaveship of Stanley, were let to Ferdinand Lee for 21 years at an annual rent of 26s. 8d. Also in the same year was granted to Christopher Mather, junr., a license to dig coals in a common or waste ground in the Manor of Berwick called "Brownemoor," for a term of 21 years at a rent of 12s. In the 40th Eliz., Richard Blande, gentleman, took a license to search for coals within the Manor of Loftus, parcel of the Manor of Rothwell, for 21 years at the rent of 6s. 8d.

Mining operations had been carried on in this district for many years. In the *Coucher* of Rievall, "Adam, son of Peter, gave to the church of Rievall, all the mines of the territory of Shitlington and of the territory of Flockton, of his part, &c., and all the dead wood of the same towns; witness Alexander, Abbot of Kirkstall (who died 1182). Thomas de Horbire grants and confirms to Rievall all gifts that Matthew, son of Saxus, gave by charter, *scilt.*, 4 acres and a half of land, in a plain called Blake . . . for making their forges there, wherein they may make iron and utensils and other necessaries to the house of Rievall, and all the dead wood of any part of Flockton and of Sicklington, to the use of their forges, so that none have any forge in these places except the said monks—In the writings of Francis Wortley, Kt., of Newhall and Shitlington.

In the 20th Eliz., there is a lease to Edward Brabbill, within the warren of Barnoldswick, at a rent of 16/8, for a term of 21 years. In the same year, a lease to Christopher Mather, of all those coal mines within the manor of Leeds,and the coal mines in Wynmore, at a rent of £3 13s. 4d. In the 28th Eliz., to Richard Sherborne, Kt., a lease was granted of mines of lead, coals, and slate-stones, within the forest of Bowland, for 21 years. In the 31st Eliz., Jo. Chappell took a lease of divers coal mines, in divers closes belonging to the chantry of St. John, in Barnsley, for 21 years, at a rent of 10/-. In the same year the "seacoles" within the waste of Brampton Byrelowe, within the bailiwick of Shafford, were let to Henry Browne, for 21 years, at a rent of 20/-. In the 44th and 45th Eliz., certain pits and coal mines within the lordship of Kypax, were let to Thomas Blande, Esq., for 21 years, at a rent of 26/8.

In the twenty-second year of her reign, the Queen also *(inter alia)* demised to Edward Cary, Esq., the "mines of slate-stones within the wastes of Northowram, and the mines of 'sea cole' upon the waste

within the manor of Bradford." From *Pleadings of the Duchy of Lancaster*, preserved in the Record Office, we learn that some time prior to 1591, Walter Cawverley (Calverley), John Hunter, and Thomas Hunter "had intruded into the said cole mynes upon the waste of Bradford, and the same have filled and stopped upp the earth," whereupon the Attorney-General, on the relation of Thomas Tonge, files a bill of complaint against them in the Duchy Court.

Records preserved at Shibden Hall, now lying before me, show that from the time of Elizabeth, the coal under their estate has been continuously worked by the owners of Shibden Hall, or their lessees, down to the present hour. In the year 1608, when Sir Edward Waterhouse, Knt., and Samuel Armitage, citizen of London, sold the hall to John Harvie, of London, gent., exception was made in the deed "of one lease heretofore made by the said Samuell Armitage severally, or by him and the said Sir Edward jointly, to Caleb Waterhouse of a certain piece or parcell of ground, parcell of the premises, with liberty for opening the ground, and digging and takeing of coles there.

The next references to coal mining that I meet with among the Shibden Hall papers are "Articles of Agreement made, &c., upon the Seaventhe day of August, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles, &c., 1633, Betweene John ffarrer of the Ewewood, in the county of Yorke, Esq., of the one party, and Abraham Shaw, of the Scolecotebrow in Northeowram in the said county, yeoman, of the other party, &c." Some of the particulars given in these articles may perhaps be of interest, stripped of some of their legal verbosity. First.—The said A. Shaw, his heirs, &c., shall and lawfully may, peaceably, at all times from henceforth. make sowes and pittes and dig myne and mynes for searching and getting coles, untill all the coles bee gotten, within any place or places in the wastes and commons of the several graveships of Hipperholme and Sowerby, in the county of Yorke, where the grant heretofore made from one Tusser* to Henry ffarrer, late of the Ewewood, Esq., his heirs, &c., for ever (under whose estate the said John ffarer claymes) will permitt, under and upon such covenantes, &c., and in such manner as bee hereafter mentioned, viz. :—

The said Abraham Shaw, his exors., &c, shall begin his workes hereafter specified before the feast of Easter, next ensuing and bear all the charges in wymbles and workmen for searching and digging for coles untill hee find the same (if there bee any), and also all such further cost as shall be spent in sowing, or sinking, for the first pit to be made, and shall dryve every sow which hee shall take in hand till the levell first begun withall shal bee spent, and till they come to take the last waterhead, &, after attayning the last waterhead, upon a true and just accompt to bee made &

* In the Wakefield Court Rolls, there is a copy of Mr. Tusser's commission made by Queen Elizabeth, dated Westminster, 27th Feb., 22 Eliz., wherein (inter alia.) are these words, "And yielding and paying such yearly rents and fines as by you the said W. Tusser shall be assured, being not lesse than after the rates, 4d. for the yearly rent, and 10/- for the fine of every acre, and 17/- for the yearly rent, and 20/- for the fine of every such messuage or building, 15/- for the yearly rent, and 40/- for the fine of every such mill or mine."

given by the said Abraham Shaw to the said John ffarrer, shall take up, & have allowance of, the fourth part of the said charges, except of boring with wimble for searching, out of the half of the profit accrueing to the said John ffarrer forth of the premises, which one half of the profit is to be paid to the said John ffarrer by the said A. Shaw, so soon as there shal bee any sale or profit made of any coles there eyther in sowing, sinking, or dryveing the waterhead for coles aforesaid, att every monthend upon demaund of the said John ffarrer, dureing the continuance of the coles therein, and then the whole charges of sinking any more pittes, of opening any old pittes, within the compasse of that ground so sowed, or where there is need of sowing, and all the charges of tooles, ropes, and scoopes, dryveing of the waterhead, and other dead worke that may come by falling in of the earth, or wanting of vent, shal bee equally borne betwixt the said parties, and all the cleare profitt equally devided betweene them.

Item.—That all banksmen for severall pittes shal be chosen by the consentes of both partyes. Item.—The said Abraham Shaw shall hyre all the workmen and pay them their godspennyes only of his proper costes, and looke to all the severall workes taken in hand, keepe them a foot contynually within a monthes space, or elles loose all his right of and unto all such mynes as shal bee so neglected (except want of sale minister some impediment).

Item.—The said Abraham Shaw shall bear all charges of sinkeing, sowing, and dryving both heades and levell of all such pittes where no profitt shal bee made that will countervaile his charge, and also shall and will att all tymes after coles bee found till they bee gotten within so much of the said wastes of Hipperholme, as do reach from Sugdenhead in Northowrom to one yate called Stryndesyate, occupied with the landes in the tenure of Abraham Brig, surcease to get any coles within the groundes of the now inheritance of the said Abraham Shaw, or in any part of the Scolecote-row aforesaid (except one half yeare only for getting coles in his owne landes or the Scolecote-brow lying now common).

Item.—That said John ffarrer, his heirs, &c., shall yearly have to his and their owne use three hundred horse loades of coles paying for getting thereof, and also bee pitt free in any pittes now intended to bee meane between the said partyes.

Item.—That if any person or persons shall att any tyme hereafter bee desirous to search for and get coles in any place, or places, within the said greaveships other then where the said A. Shaw shal bee then working, that then it shal bee lawful to and for the said John ffarrer to employ the same persons in getting the same coles (if the said A. Shaw shall refuse or neglect to bore and sinke a pitt, and to do his best endeavor to get coles in any such place upon a monthes notice to bee by him given to the said A. Shaw) anything abovesaid notwithstanding.

Item.—All such composition as shal bee given by the said parties for the more convenient getting of the said coles in any the landes of any person, or persons, neare adjoining to the said wastes, shal be equally borne by the parties, the said A. Shaw bearing all the charges of sinkeing, sowring, and dryveinge the levell to the last waterhead, as is above specified, and in such sort, and upon such allowance (to wit the fourth part) for and upon the wastes or common of Hipperholme and Sowerby abovesaid. In witnes wherof, &c.

These "Articles of Agreement" help to make us understand the difficulties which our forefathers had to contend with in their mining operations. The Halifax coal beds "crop out" on the hill-sides of the townships of Northowram and Southowram overlooking Halifax, but as the measures dip to the south-east, or, as natives express it, to the "ten o'clock sun," our early miners, having to work "to the dip," were constantly brought face to face with the water difficulty. Hence the importance of the "sow," *alias* "sough," which was the drift or water mine driven into the hill-side to drain and bring the water from the "waterhead" off the working face of the coal. By driving these "sows"

or drifts at lower and lower levels in the hill-sides, proportionately larger areas of coal were "dried" (as it was called) and won. The "last waterhead" would sometimes, in all likelihood, be "attained," when, having reached the level of the Ovenden and Halifax brooks, for want of fall, no more "sows" could be driven. The day of pumps not having yet dawned, our ancestors were at this point obliged to abandon their works, and leave the reversion thereof to their posterity.

The next document in my possession, regarding the working of the Halifax coal beds, is dated 20th March, 1633, and contains "Articles of Agreement, between John Booth, of Northowram, gent., and Abraham Shaw, of the same, yeoman," by which the former grants to the latter power to "dig, myne, and get. make and sow pittes, mines and sowes for getting and obteyning of coles within any landes, tenements, &c., called Dirtcar, &c., in Northowram, now in the tenure of the said John Booth and George Booth his father, dureing so long time as coles may bee gotten within the said landes or common." The consideration for this grant, that A. Shaw should "deliver, or cause to be delivered, at the pithill gratis to the said John Booth, his heirs, &c., two ordinary house-loades of coles weekly, from such tyme as any coles shalbee by the said A. Shaw, his exors., &c., gotten upon the said commons adjoyning to the said ground, cald (*sic*) Dirtcar-on-the-East, or within the said landes called Dirtcar, dureing such tyme as hee or they get coles there." The lessee was also to pay the yearly rent of ten pounds by four shillings every week, or by sixteen shillings at every month end—"a fortnightes space in the month of December, while there bee no coles usually got, yearly excepted." The rent was to be increased to five shillings a week if A. Shaw sank any pit or pits in the lands called Dirtcar. The lessee also covenants to rail off his pit roads three yards and a half broad, and that he will not at any time get coals or make any "sow" up to, or near, any other man's coals, to loose or enable them to get any coals through such pit or sow making or digging; nor is he—and this seems a somewhat hard condition—"to take above *twopence-halfpenny* for an horse-load of coles." All pits, also, when discontinued, are to be filled up. The final "Article" is, however, more favourable to the lessee, for "if the said Abraham Shaw, his exors., &c., do find so many inconveniences in drying the said coles or otherwise that they cannot work therein to any profitt, that then and from thenceforth these presents shalbee utterly void to all intents."

Perhaps some of the readers of *Old Yorkshire* can explain the custom referred to in these articles, of not working for "a fortnightes space" in the month of December. Was it a "Christmas vacation"?

We find that John Booth, gentleman, and Abraham Shaw, together with Abraham Sunderland, Esq., and Michael Bairstowe, some time prior to 1637, had assigned part of the above lease of mines to George Denton, of Halifax, yeoman, who in that year, in consideration of the sum of £20, granted to John Lister, of Overbrea, yeoman, "all and every such parte and partes of all and singular the Colemyne and

Colemynes lying betwixt one bridge leading into Halifax on the south parte, and one place called the North Bank on the north parte, within the Towneshippe of Northowrome," which he had by grant from Abraham Sunderland, Esq., John Booth, gentleman, Abraham Shaw, and Michael Bairstowe.

Next comes an Indenture, made 14th Feb., 1651, "Betweene John Lister, of Overbrea, in the county of York, gent., and George Croyser, of Southowram, in the said county, clothier, of the one partye, and Thomas Lister, of Shibdenhall, within the Towneshipp of Southowram aforesaid, in the saide county, gent., of the other partye," whereby John Lister and George Croyser, in consideration of the sum of £33, grant to Thomas Lister all such parts of all and singular the coal mines "lyeinge and beinge betwixte one bridge leadinge into Hallifax on the south parte, and one place called the Pute-slacke on the north parte, within the Towneshipp of Northowrome," which they had by the grant of Abraham Sunderland, Esq.; John Booth, gent.; Michael Bairstowe; Abraham Shawe; Joseph Lister, of Netherbrea; and George Denton, of Hallifax. All the "tooles, instrumentes, and implementes which they now use at the pittes in the Hallifax banke for gettinge of coales there" are assigned over, together with the mines. The yearly rent named as payable to the Lord of the Manor was five shillings.

In 1659 the Southowram coal mines were of sufficient importance to become the matter of a suit in Chancery between Thomas Lister, of Shidben Hall, gent., and Toby Barraclough, gent. The question in dispute was the liability of the defendant, Toby Barraclough, to pay 52s. yearly, and three horse-loads of coals weekly, to the complainant, Thomas Lister, in consideration of the latter's opening and cleansing a "sow" or "water-course" in the parties' "cole-mynes" at Blaithroyd, *alias* the Bank, Stonyroyd, and Place, in the township of Southowram, according to "Articles of Agreement" alleged to have been made in 1637.

Reference has already been made to coal works at Dove House, near Shibden Hall, and in the year 1685 "all that cole myne, now or late in the tenure of Samuel Hemingway," was settled by Samuel Cotes, gent., of Southowram, with that estate, on his wife, Ann Clarke.

Returning to the mines immediately connected with Shibden Hall, of which I have already recorded a lease bearing date 1608, some Chancery proceedings of the time of Queen Anne give some curious details of the manner in which the coal was won at that time in these parts. The suit was between Richard Sterne, of Woodhouse, Skircoat, Esq., and James Lister, Shibden Hall, Gentleman. It must be premised that the complainant had married Dorothy, widow of Samuel Lister, late of Shibden Hall, and that the hall and grounds had been settled upon her as jointure by her deceased husband. Richard Sterne, in his bill of complaint, alleges that in a certain close near to the mansion house "during the life of the said Samuel Lister and said Dorothy, his

wife, there was and now is a great quantity of coals," and that S. Lister in his lifetime had sunk several pits in the said close, and had raised thereout "very great quantities of coals and disposed thereof from time to time to a very great profit and advantage." He also alleges that S. Lister died in 1702, and devised the fee simple of Shibden Hall to his cousin, James Lister, of Yewtrees, gent., subject to his widow's jointure; that he, the complainant, marrying the said widow, enjoyed all the property so settled on her for her jointure, together with the said coal pits, from which he made "considerable profit and advantage to himself, to the amount of £100 per annum above all charges." It appears that an agreement was made after the death of Dorothy, whereby, in consideration of James Lister purchasing the household goods, furniture, and coal pit tools, &c., half the profits of one coal pit then on foot was to be secured to Richard Sterne, "So long as coals could or might be gotten in the same to any profit and advantage, and no longer; and that the Sough and Vent Pit and pits, then remaining open, should continue so during all such time as coals were gotten in the said pit, or to be cleansed and sowered if need be at the equal costs and charges" of both parties. It was further agreed that Mr. Sterne and Mr. Lister should "each of them have all such coals gratis at the pit in the articles mentioned as they shall burn and expend in their respective dwelling-houses." Mr. Sterne, in his bill, complains that this agreement had been rendered void through Mr. Lister's action in sinking a new pit not far from the old one in the same close of land.

Mr. Lister, in his answer, replies that the pit in question was sunk after the death of Samuel Lister, and that "having been kept working for about the space of 11 years, the coals therein began to fail, and the coals that were there, by reason of the long working there, were at such great distance from the eye of the pit that they could not be wrought and hurried and won but by the double number of hurriers and a greater number of other workmen, and at greater wages than usual, so that there was very small expectation that the profit and advantage of the said coals would answer or countervail the charges and trouble of them, besides the inconveniency that the neighbouring country laid under by reason of the scarcity of them." The defendant goes on to state that William Woodhead (the "banksman" or "overseer"), having represented to him the difficulties of working the coal at this pit, "desired him to let him a new coal pit that he might set on workmen to sink and work it, the old one, as he called it, being almost done. Mr. Lister himself, seeing that there was no chance of getting coals any longer to any or but very little profit, and "at the same time being solicited by many of his neighbours to sink a new pit for their convenience," determined to sink a new pit on his own account in the same grounds, but at such a distance from the old pit that the same should be "no prejudice or hindrance to the working of the said old pit," in case the complainant should think fit to continue to work it; and "for that purpose, about the last day of March, A.D. 1713," Mr. Lister "caused several

experienced workmen to be sent down into the said old pit to take measure how far the same had been wrought, and make such other proper observations there to the intent that it might be known at what distance to sink a new pit, so that it should be no hindrance to the old one."

The workmen, having made their "observations," informed Mr. Lister that the "said pit was wrought about nine score yards from the eye thereof, which is about six score yards more than is usual in the neighbouring collieries to work a pit without sinking a new one, in regard of the great expenses and charges that necessarily attend the bringing and hurrying of coals such an extraordinary and unusual length of way under ground." The new pit, Mr. Lister alleges, was sunk "at least twelve score yards distant" from the old one, "which is by much a greater distance than coal-pits are usually sunk one from another in the neighbouring collieries." Wm. Woodhead, who has been mentioned as "banksman" or "overseer" before the sinking of the new pit, which we are told, Mr. Lister sunk on his own account, rented the old one at £40 per annum, and delivered their house-fire coals gratis to Messrs. Lister and Sterne. Woodhead was bound by his agreement to uphold "all ways to the pit," and pay "all charges except the land tax." Woodhead's father had been tenant before him, but had only employed, it appears, four "getters, one old man which was called a half, and each a hurrier." The son added "several getters and double the number of hurriers;" but he appears to have acted in rather a high-handed manner towards his landlord, "not suffering" him to send a man down to measure the works. It also appears that "he suffered the workmen, for the amendment of their wages and to keep them from leaving their work, to take, carry off, and sell considerable quantities of coals." The workmen are represented as anxious for a new pit, "saying the old pit would ruin them all." Several of the colliers, we are informed, would "frequently get in the posts, and would not go into the far heads because of their great distance," and, notably, one of them, Henry Vicars by name, said that "he would be at some part of the charge of sinking a new pit out of his own pocket than hurry so far in the old pit." The men, we are further told, "were often forced to leave their work by reason of the damp." The cost of "hollowing" from the old pit "to the new pit" was 30s., and "several said it would never be done."

The "marking out of a new pit-stead" seems to have been a somewhat impressive ceremony in those days, and the colliers, on the 13th April, 1713, when "the ground was broak up and cutt out for the new pit," which was to be the cause of so much litigation, received allowance, in the shape of a "sod-pot," to the amount of 2s. This pit appears, as was the "old one" sunk by Madam Sterne, to have been situate in the "Hall Green," at no great distance from the dwelling-house. It was finished in October, and the following are the "cole-pitt tooles which I bought and was at the charge of new" on the 6th of that month, 1713:—

Sinking Tools.—5 wimbles of several lengths, 3 chisels, 1 head, 1 sinking pick, 2 boarded scoops, 2 tubs for drawing water. Tools for

Working with.—5 shovels, 5 malls, 5 iron wedges, 20 picks, 8 scoops, 2 bank shovels.

The reader will have noted the statements in the records I have quoted that "twelve score yards" was an unusually long distance for coal pits to be sunk one from another, and that "three score yards" was the ordinary limit to which the workings of a pit were extended "from the eye thereof." It would also appear from this and other contemporary records that the number of men "getting coal" in any given pit in this neighbourhood did not often exceed half a dozen, and a like number of boy "hurriers." What wages, it may be asked, did the men earn in those days, and what sort of profits did the masters reap? From a financial statement for the year 1714 that has been preserved, I am enabled to present the following particulars:—It appears, in the first place, that the output for the twelve months was 1,166 dozen horse loads of coals, which were sold for £175. The total expenditure for the same period amounting to £99 8s., a profit of £75 12s. seems to have been made. Of the total expenditure £92 5s. 6d. is set down under the head of "Getting, winding, and picks sharpening," and £9 2s. 9d. to "Other charges." Under the latter head I find were included, *inter alia*, the following expenses:—"Thurles;" "Head-settings;" "Cording;" "Oil," a very trifling item; and "Monday pots." "Thurles"—"thirling," we are told in a document about the same period, "is cutting through the posts for new heads"—were paid for at the rate of 2d. each; "head-settings" at 1s. each, the heads being about two yards wide. "Monday pots"—"Collier Monday" is a venerable feast—were allowances of 3d. a man. There were also extra allowances, under the name of "wake-pots," at the occurrence of the Halifax November Fair, and New Year's gifts of 6d. to men and 3d. to boys. Unfortunately, we are not able to determine exactly what the "getters'" wages amounted to weekly, as they are lumped with those of the two (?) "winders" and the cost of sharpening the pick. When they worked by the day their wages seem to have been 10d. and 1s. per diem, but in 1749 a day's wages for "winding" is only set down at 8d., and in 1723, when coals were selling at 3s. 6d. per doz., the "getters" and "winders" received only 1s. 8½d. per doz. collectively. The "viewer" was paid 1s. for each weekly inspection. The wright charged in these days 1s. apiece for shoeing scoops—*i.e.*, "corves" or "tubs," in place of wheels provided with iron (so-called) "shoes;" and four picks made at Elland, weight 21½lb., cost 5s. 4d. A pit rope, 59 yards long, weight 66lb., was worth £1 13s., and these were generally procured at Liverpool.

The next pit on record was sunk in the year 1718, in the "Calf Croft." It was only 13 yards deep. The contractors, Messrs. Booth and Tidswell, completed it in 19 days, at 2s. per yard., for the sum of £1 6s., with an allowance of 4s. for boring, hollowing, &c. In the following year, another was sunk in "Hall Croft" at 2s. 4d. per yard, 20 yards deep. The "hollowing" to the same was at 4s. per yard. In the spring of 1722, a pit, the sinking of which cost £4 18s. 6d., was

opened. It appears to have been situated at "Bairstow." About this date we find that a coal pit chain weighing 41lb. cost £1 2s., and that pick shafts were worth 3d. a piece. In 1724, articles of agreement were drawn between James Lister, of Shibden Hall, gent., of one part, and John Parieley, of Southowram, coal miner, and William Honley, of Halifax, coal miner, of the other part, by which the latter undertook to "sink down one coal pit near the top of Halifax Bank at 6s. per yard. The pit to be 2¾ yards and 2in. in length and 1 yard 2ft. in breadth, and is to be sunk to the depth of the coal bed called the Upper Bed." The contractors covenant "not to work and employ themselves at any other daily employment until the said coal pit be sunk." James Lister promises the sum of 10s. "over and above the price" bargained for, "and also to be at the charge of boring in the said coal pit when they are sinking the same, if it happen there shall be occasion."

John Parieley and partner received their "sod-pot"—2s. 6d.—and began their operations in July; and in August John Scott, the carpenter, receives 2s. for "framing the new pit." In January, 1726, for the first time, the "gin-horse" makes an appearance in the account-books. The following entries may perhaps be of interest:—

		£	s.	d.
Jan., 1725-6.—	Pd. for Gin-horse, with charges	—	18	0
	Pd. Samuel Hindle for making Ginn	2	17	6
	Pd. Thomas Little for Iron work for Ginn.....	1	16	0

Prior to this time all the coal raised at Shibden Hall seems to have been "picked" by "winders," who were paid, as has been already stated, 8d. a day for the job.

In 1727 Mr. James Lister began to sink a pit in "Trough of Bolland Wood," which I fancy was a failure owing to an excessive, for that day, quantity of water. It would seem that there was even at that time some sort of union among the masters of the neighbourhood, for, under date of 29th June, 1731, S. Lister "spent at Stump Cross, when we met to advance the coals, 8d." In this year the cost of making four yards of "Wimbles" at 8d. per joint, and 3d. per cwt., was £1 5s. 3d. At the Christmas of the same year the colliers received 12lb. of beef at 3½d. per lb. In 1736 another pit was sunk at the Bank Top (now Park) Farm, near Shibden Hall, for "drawing up of the coal mine called the Upper Bed." This was contracted for by David Backsendell and John Hargreaves, both of Northowram. The pit was to be three yards at the top of the shaft in length, and one and a half yards in breadth, and from the middle two yards by one and a half yards. The price for sinking to be paid by the Rev. John Lister was 8s. per yard, and 20s. for guttering and boring a side hole from the bottom of the rag to the bottom of the upper bed for taking away water. John Lister to find all tools, materials, and other necessary implements to be used in boring and sinking the shaft.

By Articles of Agreement made in 1749, a pit was to be sunk to the Upper Bed in Hanging Hey, on the south side of Shibden Hall, 3½

yards by 1½ yards to the middle, and thence 2 yards by 1½ yards to the bottom, at 8s. per yard, and 20s. to be paid for guttering and boring side holes from the bottom of the rag in order to keep the pit and tackle dry, and 20s. for extra boring, John Lister, the owner, to find all tools, materials, &c. (gunpowder and carpenters' tools excepted). It would appear from the total sum paid to the sinkers that this pit was about 70 yards deep. Other pits previously in the Shibden Hall estate had not exceeded 50 yards.

In the year 1749 another attempt had been made to sink a pit in "Trough of Bolland Wood," which "cost about twenty guineas, when the workmen could proceed no further, being stopped by water." In 1750 the number of men employed in the pits appears to have been only eleven and six boys. The following year the "Bottom Coal," *i.e.*, lower or soft bed, was reached in the "Hanging Hey Pit," and the colliers accordingly had 7s. given them to honour the event withal. The year 1755 saw another pit completed in the "Flat Field," on the top of the hill opposite Shibden Hall, of which, according to the articles of agreement, 59 yards had been already sunk and paid for. John Johnson and William Booth, the contractors, were first to bore to the "Upper Bed," in order to carry off the water, and then to sink two yards in length and 1½ yards in breadth down to the "Upper Bed," or bottom of the pit. The price per yard was to be 18s. 6d. for boring and sinking, and 20s. extra for making the "side hole" under the "rag." The cost of making the gin for this pit was £10 10s. In this year we first hear of a "pump for the coal pit," which cost the moderate sum of 8s. 6d. There is a plan—the earliest I possess—preserved of this pit, in which the "pump-work" is duly shown.

In 1752 Mr. Samuel Lister, of Shibden Hall, agreed to let Benjamin Norminton, of Stump Cross, and Azer Taylor, of Fold, in Northowram, work the coal under his Shibden Mill Estate, at a royalty of 9d. for every "dozen or twelve-horse load of coals of the customary measure of this country," for the term of seven years. We are approaching the modern era when, about 1760, we find the then proprietor of the mines considering the expediency of pumping by means of a "fire-engine," though coming to the conclusion that "no coal mine in this country will answer the charge of a fire-engine; for a water-engine they may answer, as water will draw water." In 1775 we find "Horrocks, the Lancashire workman," engaged in putting up, at a cost of about £1,000, waterwheels at Mytholm to work the pumps required to keep the colliery established there by Mr. Jeremy Lister clear of water.

It may not be out of place to mention, in conclusion, that the Rev. Titus Knight, founder of the Square Congregational Church at Halifax, and the Rev. Daniel Taylor, father of the "General Baptists" in Halifax, were both, I believe, employed as colliers in the Shibden Hall Pits, the former being related to Joseph Knight, "viewer" in the time of the Rev. John Lister, M.A., who died in 1759.

Shibden Hall, Halifax. J. LISTER, M.A.

BRADFORD IN THE TIME OF JOHN WESLEY.

THE introduction of Methodism into Bradford is not to be ascribed to Mr. Wesley, notwithstanding that he several times visited the town during the years of his itinerancy, but to that faithful disciple of his, John Nelson, the Birstall stonemason, of whom Southey said, "that he had as high a spirit and as brave a heart as ever Englishman was blessed with." Nelson's bold advocacy of Wesley's religious views had been the means of bringing him into trouble. There were those among his enemies who were only too glad of a pretext for getting him out of the neighbourhood where he had been accustomed to preach. Soldiers were greatly needed at this time (1744), and all "able-bodied men," who led disorderly lives, or had no apparent means of earning their livelihood, were pressed into the service with very little scruple. Among those who shared this fate was John Nelson, an able-bodied man certainly, but one who neither led a disorderly life, nor was wanting in a real or an "apparent" means of earning his livelihood. He, however, was apprehended while preaching in a house at Adwalton, and on the following day was brought before certain commissioners at Halifax, who, in spite of abundant evidence to his good character and respectability, condemned him to serve His Majesty as a common soldier.

The Vicar of Birstall has been accredited with the bringing about of this unjust persecution of a good and harmless man, and that he did it as a means of getting John and his preaching removed out of the parish. Nelson was ordered to be taken to York. On his way thither he was lodged for a time in a dungeon at Bradford, a filthy hole, which he said "stunk worse than a hog-stye, by reason of the blood and filth which sink from the butchers who kill over it." At night several good folks came to the dungeon door, brought the prisoner candles, and put him meat and water in through the hole of the door. Filthy and comfortless as the place was, John said his soul was so filled with the love of God that it was a very paradise to him. "When I had eaten and drunk," he says, "I gave God thanks, and we (himself and the good people who had come to sympathise with him) sang hymns almost all night, they without and I within."

At five o'clock in the morning of next day, Nelson was removed from this disreputable place and taken on to Leeds. Afterwards, through the kind influence of the Countess of Huntingdon, he obtained his discharge.

The Rev. W. W. Stamp, a Wesleyan minister stationed at Bradford in 1841, and who in 1860 was elected President of the Conference, brought out a small work entitled "Wesleyan Methodism in Bradford and its Vicinity," in which, after speaking of John Nelson's harsh treatment in the Bradford dungeon, he goes on to tell of "providential blights" that afterwards befell those who had been the principal actors in bringing the same about. The deputy constable who had seized Nelson at

Adwalton, and had repeatedly declared that if his arm rotted from his shoulder he would himself "press" John Nelson, realized but too soon the consequences of his daring. "Paralysis," says Stamp, "succeeded inflammation, and the use of his arm never returned; whilst at this day, the house of the persecutor is written in the dust." This reverend historian, who speaks so glibly of "God's judgments," then goes on to deal with the Vicar of Birstall, "who, with such unrelenting bitterness, pursued and persecuted this worthy man (Nelson)." "It is a fact well known," he states, "that his (the Vicar's) only child—the lust of the man—must have sought an asylum in the parish workhouse, but for the united contributions of some Church friends and Methodists."

Very interesting are the circumstances under which Methodism was first introduced into Bradford. The first Methodist service was, as we have seen, a prayer meeting held at the door of a miserable dungeon, and the first place of worship the upper room of an old cock-pit! Strange that the spot that was to witness the revival of religion in Bradford should have been noted as the favourite resort "of the most profligate characters then to be found," and that the place where Wesley, Whitefield, and Grimshaw were wont to address multitudes of anxious hearers, had but recently been the gathering-place of disreputable gamblers and black-legs, who revelled in such degrading sports as cock-fighting and bull-baiting. It would, perhaps, be difficult to find another spot that has been put to so many "base uses" as the old building known as the cock-pit. Besides the honour of being successively the first meeting room of the Baptist and Methodist bodies, it boasted the distinction of being also the gathering place of the followers of Baron Swedenborg and Joanna Southcot. As to its secular uses, they are untold; but it is quite certain that at different periods it served the purposes of a court-house, lock-up, barracks, vagrants' refuge, school-room, joiners' shop, and soap and oil warehouse!

The Methodists took possession of the large room in this building, as a place of worship, in the year 1756. Wesley, in a visit which he paid in the following year, thus refers to it:—"Thursday, May 12. The latter end of the week I spent in Bradford. Sunday, 15, at five, the *house* contained the congregations, but at eight they covered the plain adjoining to it. The sun was hot till the clouds interposed; it was a solemn and comfortable season." The plain here alluded to was an open space between the old cock-pit and the beck, which then ran uncovered through the heart of the town. This open space was known as "the Turls Green," from which we now have "Tyrrel Street." Here assembled the crowds who came to hear Mr. Wesley preach from the top of the steps at the east end of the building. Bradford had not then more than five thousand inhabitants. The only building of any importance of which it could boast was its Parish Church, an imposing erection (*temp.* Henry VI.) standing on an eminence overlooking the town. The Vicar, in Wesley's time, the Rev. John Crosse, an Arminian in sentiment, and a good man to boot, held out the hand of fellowship to Wesley, and

on more than one occasion allowed him to preach from his pulpit. There were then but one church and two dissenting chapels in Bradford, the latter being the Friends' meeting-house in Goodman's End, and the Presbyterian Chapel in Pond (now Chapel) Lane.

John Wesley's first visit to Bradford was made in the summer of 1744, on which occasion he preached at Little Horton, tradition says at Horton Hall, the home of the famous Sharp family, where in former times good Oliver Heywood had often been a welcome guest. Wesley was in Bradford again during the following year, and also in the years 1746 and 1747. To the latter year belongs the formation of the first Methodist Society in Bradford. One of the first members of this small organization was a Thomas Mitchell, who, after serving as a soldier, became one of the earliest Methodist preachers. Alluding to Mr. Wesley's visit in 1747, he says, "He (Mr. Wesley) joined several of us together in a class, which met about a mile from the town. *But all of them fell back and left me alone;* yet afterwards some of them returned."

If we may take the "home-spun" verses of William Darney as authentic evidence of the fact, it would seem that Methodism had not gained a very firm footing in Bradford up to the year 1751.

On Bradford likewise, look Thou down,
Where Satan keeps his seat;
Come, by Thy power; Lord! him dethrone,
For Thou art very great.

But, bad as Bradford was in this respect, there were certain neighbouring townships which seem (from the poet's point of view) to have been much worse—Eccleshill in particular.

In Eccleshill they're stiff and proud,
And *few* that dwell therein
Do shew they've any fear of God,
Or hatred unto sin.

By the way, the Eccleshill Methodists caused Mr. Wesley much annoyance by the persistent manner in which they held out to have a trust deed of their own making, containing certain clauses which he could not tolerate. Many were his visits to this place in order to bring about a settlement of the matter. In May 1788, he writes, "In the afternoon (May 2) I spent some hours with the Trustees of Eccleshill (preaching) house, *but I might as well have talked to so many posts.*" Methodism did not afterwards thrive in this village it would seem, for, although the population had greatly increased, it was not till 1854 that the small old chapel of Wesley's time was superseded by a larger building.

Matters prospered much better at Bradford. When it became evident that the room in the old cock-pit was no longer safe for public worship, the floor having on one occasion given way whilst the congregation were met, the erection of a new chapel was at once contemplated, the land purchased, and the enterprise entered upon with the zeal and energy characteristic of the followers of Wesley. The site chosen for the new sanctuary was in Horton road, on the sunny side of the town,

and with very pleasant surroundings. Truly the people "had a mind to work." Several of the members cheerfully assisted in digging the foundation, while two earnest and devoted "brothers" went forth to collect funds in the district, and, though the first contribution they received did not exceed the modest sum of twopence, they were by no means discouraged. The building involved an outlay of £997 8s. 9d., a large sum in those days, when there were no wealthy religious patrons or bazaars to fall back upon for help as in these.

The style in which the chapel was to be built was one to which Mr. Wesley was himself very partial, namely, the Octagon, which, while it possessed the advantage of seating a greater number of worshippers than other buildings, and its accoustic properties were superior, had nevertheless the drawbacks of being less secure in point of safety, and was quite incapable of enlargement except by entire rebuilding.

The new chapel was opened on Sunday, July 27, 1776. Mr. Wesley in his journal, says:—"There was so large a multitude, and the rain so damped my voice, that many in the skirts of the congregation could not hear distinctly. They have just built a preaching house on a square of 54 feet, the largest Octagon we have in England, and it is the first of the kind where the roof is built with common sense, rising only a third of its breadth, yet it is as firm as any in England."

And yet, in spite of this eulogium in its favour, the Octagon chapel in Horton Road had to be abandoned in little more than forty years after its erection, the walls having so far given way as to render the place unsafe for public worship.

Bradford was one of the spots that Wesley delighted to visit, and he did visit it often. He lived to see his cause here prosper and flourish beyond his greatest expectation. The cause has never ceased to prosper to the present time, and promises to do so unto the far remote future. Wesley paid his last visit to the town on the 2nd May 1788, having then nearly completed his eighty-fifth year. On the morning of Sunday, May 4th, he preached in the Parish Church, which, though a large building, was so densely filled that it was with extreme difficulty he was able to reach the pulpit. "It was, however," says he, "worth all the labour. I strongly applied those words in the epistle for the day—'The end of all things is at hand, be ye therefore sober and watch unto prayer.' It seemed as if the whole congregation was moved. I believe that hour will not soon be forgotten."

Such was the last appearance in Bradford of this venerable and good man. A touching and impressive picture surely! Wesley was then very near the end of his long and useful pilgrimage on earth,—full of years and well-earned honours. Still more impressive was this occasion rendered by the fact that the venerable and blind Vicar of Bradford, beloved of his people, took part in the service.

Bradford. W. SCRUTON.

THE STATELY HOMES OF YORKSHIRE.

METHLEY PARK AND HALL.

THE first glimpse of Methley Hall, the Earl of Mexborough's seat in the village of Methley, is disappointing. It presents a bare and unpleasing modern front, which cannot be seen from any considerable distance. This new front was built by Carr, of York, a little more than a hundred years ago, in the time of the second earl. It was altered to its present appearance fifty years ago by his son, the third earl. An old engraving of Methley Hall, dated 1788, which I have before me, shows Carr's front, then brand new. A large bay window flanks each side of the principal entrance. The entablature is of Georgian severity. One of the principal alterations, made about 1830, when the third earl succeeded to the title, was the carrying up of the bays to the top of the house. The appearance of the *facade* was thus greatly improved, but it was not possible then to reproduce the picturesque outlines of the original front.

If Methley Hall had never been altered,—if, that is to say, the destroying hand of the eighteenth century restorer had been stayed,—it would probably to-day be one of the most interesting Elizabethan houses in Yorkshire. But the spirit of architectural bathos in those days could not be induced to let things alone. Every man who had a house set about restoring it, and the older and more interesting it was the greater was the certainty of its being "restored." Lord Melbourne's famous question, "Can't you let it alone?" was never asked in reference to those monumental mistakes, for everybody was so much enamoured with the "vastly elegant" travesties of classical forms in fashion, that it was not deemed possible to say a word in favour of the more romantic types of architecture indigenous to this country. When everything has been said that can be said to prove there is no architecture worthy of

the name save the purely classic, the fact remains—and that it is a fact there are a thousand examples to prove—that whenever a country makes extensive employment of a fashion of building utterly foreign to its habits and its instincts, that country is passing through a period of intellectual darkness. Classic architecture of any kind was unknown in England—the little of the Italian spirit which leavened the later Elizabethan period was so slight as to be hardly noticeable—until quite the end of the seventeenth century, and it was not until the eighteenth was getting into years that classicalism became rampant. I am obliged to use that offensive adjective. The adherents of the classic styles behaved like conquerors in an enemy's country. The tongue reviled and the pen scarified those grand examples of early native art which we now regard as one of our proudest legacies from the past. But, some fifty or sixty years ago, the turn of romanticism came in architecture as in poetry, in the drama, and, indeed, in all the liberal arts; and the art education of the people is such now that it is in the highest degree unlikely that the bogey of classicalism will ever be seen again in this land.

And now, having danced upon the prostrate foe, let me go on to say that Methley Hall is so pleasantly situated as to have deserved to make a better figure in the world. The park which surrounds it is really beautiful, and its charm is increased by the presence of a lake and a small herd of fallow deer. The house stands on the slope of a gentle hill, and, although it does not command any extensive prospects from the front, the views which those windows afford are pretty enough. The eye wanders from the charming gardens, across the well-wooded park, to the village of Methley, and, farther on, to Pontefract. Cedars are a speciality of Methley Park, many of them being old and very fine. All of the older of them have been planted by previous Saviles. A new generation is growing up which has been planted by the present Lord Mexborough, from cones he brought from Lebanon some fifty years ago. The views from the high land at the back of the house are much more extensive and varied. Thence the Grange and Elmley Moors can be distinctly seen, with the high lands of Pikelow and High Hoyland rising up beyond them. To the north lies Templenewsam and its girdle of embosoming woods. Methley is close to the junction of the Aire and the Calder, and, as we gaze from this point, Airedale lies to one side of us and Calderdale to the other. Thus, Lord Mexborough's domain possesses no inconsiderable share of natural attractions. Pretty itself, it commands the beautiful. At Club Cliff, whence we have been taking our imaginary view, there is a building called "The Pinnacle," a brick tower, with an open platform at the top and a small room, something like an elevated summer arbour, in the middle. From the top can be seen not only the view I have described, but the spires, in addition, of Wakefield, Oulton, and Middleton.

There is an abiding touch of the old English days everywhere fixed upon Methley—vulgarly still called Medlay—which is not so characteristic of all the adjoining parishes, in most of which abundant tokens of

the Norseman are to be found. In its place-name—be it Methley or Meadley—we have the Saxon compound indicating a *meadow-field*, which refers to subdued nature and the residence of man. In the dedication of its church to the Saxon Oswald, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, and of whom a mutilated statue still remains over the south door, we have some further corroboration of the antiquity and perhaps also of the dignity of the settlement. As the home of the ancient family of Waterton, magnates of the Plantagenet and early Lancastrian days, we have additional evidence of the ancient prominence of the seat. As the neighbour of the regal castle at Rothwell, and the home of right worshipful people, we can only conclude that the Plantagenet mansion was of befitting splendour.*

The oldest portions of the present Methley Hall are nearly 300 years old, for the house was originally built by Sir John Savile in 1593. The back of the hall and the southern wing are the principal remains of the original building, and hereabouts are the initials of the builder, and the date of the building—I. S., 1593. There still exist at Methley some of the fine old leaden spouts which our ancestors made so well. They also bear the initials of Sir John Savile. The older portions of the house are all lower than the new ones, and infinitely more picturesque. The re-fronting and carrying up of the bay windows are not the only alterations which have been made at Methley. The third earl erected the north wing some half a century ago, and in this way materially increased the accommodation of the house, which has never been very large, and must, previous to the building of this wing, have been inconveniently small. The characteristics of the old buildings are entirely Elizabethan. There are the ample windows, the panelled chambers, the delicately moulded ceilings, the carved wooden fireplaces, which are distinctive of Elizabethan work. The house is built of stone from Oulton, hard by, and there are still left some of the effectively-massed

*The great days of the House of Pomfret—the days of chivalry, of hawks and hounds, as Hungate at Methley still testifies—when Countess Alice de Laci, mother of the puissant Henry, Earl of Lincoln, lived at Rothwell, when the Edwards hunted in Rothwell Haigh, and the King of France, captured at Agincourt, was residing at Methley—terminate with the Wars of the Roses, which was the birth-time of the family of Savile, or anciently and yet popularly Sayvile. The architecture of Methley Church speaks to the era when the old buildings wore out; it is corroborated by the following:—Henry VII. To our trusty and well-beloved the Steward of our honnour of Pountfret, and in his absence to his deputie there, and to either of theym, gretyng. Wher as the mannour place of our lordship of Rothwell, called the Maner Garthes, is in ruyne and decaie, and the remaine that stondeth is like to fall doone, and of which as now we have litil perfit or noon, and forsomuch as our trusty and well-beloved squier Roger Hopton, gentleman-usher of the chamber, hath promysed and graunted to edifie and bilde certyn convenient howsyng of lime bildyng and an in for our pleasure and his ease, within the said garthes, and desirith us that he may have the same to hym and his assygnes by copy of our court ther; wherfore we wol and charge you that unto our seid servaunt ye do make a graunt in our court ther by copy of the said garthes, to have to hym and his assignes after the custume of our manour ther, yeldyng unto us yerely for the same five shilynges, the certeyntie of the bildyng between you to be granted and in the same copy to be repressed.

and cunningly-twisted chimneys built of Bramley Fall stone. The present outward appearance of the house, as I have hinted, is distressingly Georgian. The cornice is pierced with balustrades—a hateful device which was very popular in the south of England, but, happily, did not much prevail in the more remote northern shires, which, at any rate until the introduction of the railways, preserved their own distinctive types of house-building better than did the southern counties. Within a few hours of the writing of these lines the *St. James's Gazette* has said, in a few words, exactly that which I have been endeavouring to prove in these articles. "There is little doubt about it," says the *St. James's*, "that the old country houses of Yorkshire are among the most interesting of those which time, fire, and the pick-axe have left to us. There is a greater variety in their architecture, and a more intimate connection with history than is the case with the generality of the old family seats in the south of England."

The pediment of the principal front—Carr's front—bears the quartered arms, the crest and supporters, of the ancient house of Savile, which has been of importance in Yorkshire for close upon six hundred years. Unfortunately it is not alone the exterior of Methley Hall which has suffered by the hand of the restorer. When the house was first built it contained, as all country houses of any pretension contained at that time, a long gallery, panelled, and floored with a simple but effective parquetry, and a gracefully moulded ceiling. These ceilings were originally merely whitewashed; in many houses they still remain so, and very effective they are. In modern days it has become the fashion to paint and gild them, which has always a gaudy and sometimes even a *bizarre* effect.

From the *Yorkshire Weekly Post.*

ON PLACE-NAMES CONNECTED WITH WATER.

CARR—old form CARRE, in composition frequently *car*, as in Carcroft, Sheepscar, Ellercar.

This word is derived from the Old Norse, *kjarr*—copse, ling, brushwood, &c., and then applied to the place where underwood grew; afterwards to a swamp or marsh with or without the underwood; and eventually to any relatively flat, low-lying land, wet and boggy, subject to floods, and containing permanent pools with sedge and rushes. Leland (16th century) says of the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, "The soil by the water be fenny, morische and ful of carres." Since his time the carrs have been drained, and the district rendered rich and fertile. A positive application of the word in the fulness of its original sense is obtained in a charter of land granted by Hillary Trussebut to the Templars at Ribstan *circa* 1250—"namely of all the wood which is called Kerhaghe." In the Scotter—Lincolnshire—Court Roll, 1556, "Yt ys ordered euery inhabytant of Scotter shall put ther geyse in

the Carre, or else clyppe ther wynges, or pul theym, upon payne of eu'ye flocke iiis. iiiid."

The word assumes various forms in the different dialects. Old Norse, *kjarr* and *ker*; Icelandic, *kiarr*; Norse, *kjerr*; Danish, *kær*; Suo. Gothic, *kaerr*; Early English, *ker*. The Scotch word *Carse*, as in the "Carse of Gowrie," "Carse of Stirling," "Carse of Falkirk," &c., its equivalent in North Britain, is supposed to be derived from the same source; as also the Irish word *Currah*: *corrah* and *curneach* being old Celtic terms for a marsh or morass. It is said there are 30 Irish Townlands named Curragh-more, the great currah, or great morass; and more than 30 places in Munster termed Curraheen, the little marsh. In England the name is confined almost exclusively to the Danelagh, or to places where the Northmen obtained a settlement in marshy or fenny districts. Almost all the Yorkshire carrs have by this time been cultivated and made productive, but the names remain in hundreds of instances, either as the names of hamlets, residences, fields, valleys, or districts generally.

Many of the names are characteristic of the nature of the district at the time the name was given, as Dirt-Carr, Miry-Carr, Foul-Carr, Deep-Carr, Causeway-Carr, *i.e.*, the Carr with a raised road across it, Starr-Carr, *i.e.*, the Carr where strong coarse grass and rushes grow; from Old Norse *Storr*, bent, sedge, reeds, coarse grass, &c. By the 15 and 16 Geo. II., c. 33, "plucking up and carrying away starr or bent, or having it in possession, within five miles of the sandhills, was punishable by fine, imprisonment, and whipping." There is a Starr-Carr near Seamer, another in the Isle of Axholme, Star-beck near Harrogate, several Storrs in the West-Riding, and Starring and Star-garden in Lancashire. Turf-Carr, Bawtry, a Carr where turf is cut: Cow-Carr, Ox-Carr, &c. The majority of the Carrs, however, receive their names from the houses, hamlets, or villages, erected in the neighbourhood, as Woodhouse-Carr, Batley-Carr, Hunslet-Carr, and Harlow-Carr. Of Hunslet Carr, Thoresby says, "What is now called Hunslet-Carr—and strictly answers Mr. Ray's description, 'a hollow place where water stands'—was probably in former ages a mere spreading fen or marsh." The same may be said of Woodhouse-Carr. There is sufficient evidence that the valley between the Woodhouse and Potternewton Ridges was formerly a lake. During the excavation for the Meanwood drainage several trunks of large trees were met with which had evidently been washed down the valley, and sunk in the lake. The natural drainage of the Carrs was effected by becks, sykes, and dykes, many of which still exist, as Carbeck, Car-syke, and Car-dyke.

Miller—*History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, 1804—says, "Potteric-Car is situated about half a mile southwards of Doncaster; some part of it is called Doncaster-Car, other parts, Balby, Loversal, Wadworth, High-Ellers, or Besicar-Car; but the original denomination of the whole circumference was and is now called Potteric-Car; southwards it extends in length about four miles from Doncaster to Rossington, westward

about the same distance in breadth from High Ellers beyond Wadworth. It contains 4000 acres of land. Potteric-Car was entirely a morass or bog till the year 1766, when an Act of Parliament was obtained for enclosing it."

The Carrs have, in many instances when consolidated, been utilised and used as racecourses, as, for instance, Potteric-Car, Doncaster; Altcar, Liverpool; Carholme, Lincoln; Pontefract and Stockton-Carrs; and the Currah of Kildare. Some few names ending in Car, as Golcar, Rough-Carr, are supposed to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon Car—a rock, a contraction probably of the Norse word *scar*.

The prefix Car in such words as Carlisle, Carnarvon, &c., is also an entirely different word from the subject of our note. *Cair* or *Caer*, the old British word for a place encircled by a fence, or wall, was applied to any fortified town or city. In modern Welsh *Cae* is the name for a necklace, because it encircles and encloses the neck, a fence or hedge that surrounds a field, a wall that surrounds and protects a town or city; and *Caer* the town or city so protected. Carlisle is *Caer-leul*, the fortified town on a lake. Cardiff was formerly *Caer-taff*, the fortified town on the river Taff; and York, the Eboracum of the Romans, was called by the Romanised Britons Caer-Ebranc.

FITTS, FITTIES. On the banks of the Wharfe, near Harewood Castle, are certain fields called "The Fitts," and lower down the river are "Keswick Fitts." They are level lands containing rich loamy soil. Seven hundred years ago William Trussebut gave land "on the west part of the way which leads from Cralvett towards Werreby." In Lincolnshire such lands are called "Fitties," the word being applied to flat strips of land bordering the sea, estuary, or lake. In Old Norse *fit*, plural *fitjar*, is the name for meadow land, on or near the banks of a frith or lake; the modern Danish term is *fed* as in Osterfed.

FLASS, FLASH.—A sheet of shallow water. About a mile to the south of Castleford is Carr-Flass. At Upper Wike is a place called Flash-Pond. There is a village called Flash in Derbyshire, and in Lincolnshire are Ferry-flash and Flashmire. The Rev. G. Streatfield, "Lincolnshire and the Danes," says, "The first syllable of this name (Flashmire) looks very much like the Danish *flaske*, which, when used in a local sense, sometimes means a small creek surrounded by meadows."

LUM, LUMB.—This name, with or without the b,—which is a modern addition,—is applied to a number of places, especially in the elevated districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, where a brook or streamlet runs through a wooded gorge, and forms in its course pools of water more or less deep. Canon Hulbert, "Annals of the Parish Church of Aldmondbury," quotes the Rent Roll of 1492 as follows:—"John Parkin holds four acres in the Lum and one acre at Benolmey, and pays in Mich. term 9½d." The family of Parkin still hold possessions and reside in the Lum, now spelled Lumb. Near Drighlington are Lumb-bottom, Lumb-wood, and Lumb-Hall. Between the Keighley moors and Sutton is Lumb-clough; and near Haworth, Lum-beck and

Lumb-foot. Between Shelf and Hipperholme, Lum-brook. At Slack, Lumb-bank; and, 200 feet below hills on either side, Lumbottom Mill. In Erringden, near Cragg-brook and Marshaw-bridge, are Lumb Stone, Upper Lumb and Lower Lumb, and near Hebden Bridge, Lumb-valley. Between Sowerby and Ripponden are Lumb, and Lumb-fall in Lumb-clough, 200 feet below Lumb-hill and Lumb-clough.

In the township of Langfield, little more than a mile to the south-west of Todmorden, is a small village called Lumbutts, about the origin of the name of which a question was asked in the *Leeds Mercury Supplement*, in July, 1885. One correspondent replied: "Lumbutts is a combination of the surname Lumb and the place-name 'Butts.' 'Butts,' we are told, is an old English word—a mark for archers. No doubt at some period in the history of this place there will have been erected butts for the bowmen's practice; and at some subsequent time to that when the bowmen met to try their skill, some person of the name of Lumb owned, rented, or became connected with the place; hence the name Lumbutts." Another correspondent writes: "I rather think it simply means the end of a hill. Lum in the Scottish dialect means a chimney. To loom is to appear elevated, so does a hill side, so also does a weaver's hand loom; the noun butt means *end*, *limit*, *bound*, whilst the 'butt end' is the thicker end of a thing. The hill on the south side of the Bilberry Reservoir near Holmfirth is called Lumbank. On the south side of the Castle hill at Almondbury is a place called Lumb."

The writer of the present notes said:—"I have not been able to ascertain the locality or position of Lumbutts, but I suspect it is near a once—if not now—wooded gorge, through which some beck or brooklet runs. There are several places in Yorkshire and Lancashire named Lum or Lumb, all answering to this description, and supposed to derive their names from the Old English Lum, and primarily from the Old Norse *Luma*—a deep pool, generally overshadowed with trees, &c." A correspondent signing "Stoodley Pike," wrote:—"Lumbutts is now a little village in the township of Langfield, situate near to and now of considerably more importance than the old town of Mankinholes; and those who know the place will agree with me that Mr. Hardcastle could not have given a better description of the surroundings had he known it intimately. A natural waterfall in any of the streams of this district is, by the older inhabitants, called a 'lumb,' doubtless from the *luma*, deep pool, at the foot of it." This correspondent then enumerated several lumbs in the neighbourhood similarly situated, and quoted Dr. March, "East Lancashire Nomenclature," as to the meaning of the word Butt. "A. S. *butan*, without, the converse of *binnan*, within. The 'but and ben' are the outer and inner rooms of a dwelling.* Butt also means

*We may refer the *Bean Ing* in Leeds to the same source, and not to the Latin for *prayer*. The Bean Ing has been the inner ing, because nearer the town, an outer one lying westward to the North Hall woods of old. The word "Buttons" which has grown corrupt as the meaning was lost, is a not uncommon field name at the present day.

an outhouse, and sometimes a field or yard adjoining a house, and instances the following place-names:—Barnbutts, Winterbutlee, Midge hall Butt, Rumbuts (?Lumbutts), Farbuts, Middle Butts, Goosebutts, and Shearbutts." The statement that Butt means an outhouse and sometimes a field adjoining a house is questionable. The fields are the Butts, and they may or may not contain an outhouse. Barnbuts are fields with a barn. Goosebuts, fields where geese feed. The older Dictionaries, and modern Glossaries and Dictionaries of Archaic words, give among other definitions, "Butts—a bank, a boundary, a limit, the short ridges or headlands of a field, the corners of a field, a small piece of ground, a strip of uneven waste land." The Rev. J. C. Atkinson, in "Additions to a Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect, says:—"Butts, a piece of land usually small and of irregular shape. This word is of frequent occurrence in local names, the names of fields, and repeatedly in mediæval writings, in the same application, *e.g.*, Thomcross Butts in the Whitby Chartulary, Cherry butts in Bingley. (*Mon. Ebor.*) There is an excellent instance of the use of the word in a charter of Walter, son of Walter son of Henry de Cathall, to the Templars of Ribstan. It conveys four acres of arable land in Cattal, of which a butt lies at Mickelpit, another butt at Twastremes, a selion in Mickeldanlcroft, and another selion at Littelstandandstan, a selion at Mickeldiklandes, and a selion at Litteldiklandes, another selion *upon* Whaitebuttes, and another selion *upon* Helerun; another selion *upon* Vuerwiytfur, another *at* Buretrestub, another at Middelsmayornes, and one *upon* Kirkebram, another at Westkerpot, and another at Aldbotstrigel. It is to be observed that there is a sharp distinction between a butt and a selion, which was an open ridge of land. In Liverton, according to a map or plan of the parish of about 1730 now before me, one small enclosure is called 'Butts' and the adjoining 'Longlands Butts,' which latter is separated from the field called 'Longlands' by a road. This severance of a short end, by whatever means, leads I think to the use or application of the word as in the term 'butt-end.'" The term 'butts' is frequently applied in the West Riding to small fields at the extremities of large enclosures or estates. Dr. March derives the word Lumb from the A S. *lam* = loam, because "at Red Lumb is to be found a red sort of clay." From what we know of the Lancashire Lumbs they are in similar positions to the Yorkshire ones enumerated above; and a wooded watery clough, with or without a more or less expanded sheet or pool of water, if the soil around be red, may well be called a Red Lumb. There is little doubt that Lum-butts means the fields by the Lum. So also it is said does Lumley in Durham; as Burslem in Staffordshire means the town (Burg) at the lem or lum.

The archery "Butts" of our ancestors still linger in a few place-names to remind us of their skill as marksmen; as in "Brentford Butts," "Newington Butts," "Butt's-Court," Leeds, Butts Hill and Butts Lane having been superseded during the present century by Guildford Street and Basinghall Street.

Leeds. C. D. HARDCASTLE.

INDEX.

Abbey lands, Disposal of, 85.
Abunescard, 126.
Ackworth, 188, 193.
Adalis, a leader at Brunanburgh, 74.
Adam, Abbot of Melsa, 130.
Addingham, a clan-station, 57.
Addleburgh, British encampment at, 42.
Adel church, 45, 47, 48; Ornaments of, 55, 118.
Adwalton, 284.
Agatha Taylbois, 235, 236.
Agbrigge, 188.
Agincourt, 192, 289.
Agnes, wife of Eustace Fitz-John, 130.
Agricola, 42.
Ailric, 26, 76.
Akelthorpe, 246.
Alan of Richmond, 235; son of Roald, 236; Earl of Britanny, 153.
Albemarle, Earl of, 213, 214, 218.
Albemarle, Wm. Legros, Earl of, 121; Countess of, 219.
Aldburgh, 42, 215, 220; burnt by the Danes, 72; assumed site of Brunanburgh, 71, 72; Arms of, 99.
Aldburgh, Sir Wm., 156.
Aldefield, 200.
Aldrid, Ralph son of, 200.
Aldwoodley, 47, 157.
Ale, Nelson shot while fetching, 234,
Alenctun, Richard de, 105.
Alexander III., Pope, 134, 237.
Alexander, Abbot of Kirkstall, 260.
Alfgeirr, 73.
Alianora, the Queen, 218.
Alice, Countess, 17, 18.
Allen, Mr. J. R., on Ilkley Crosses, 53-6; on Ilkley Tablet, 66.
Allerton, 188.
Almaigne, Richard of, 179.
Almonbury, 188, 292.
Alnwick Castle, 246.
Alric's grave, 76.
Alsalin, Godefrid, Lord of Deighton, 92.
Alta Ripa Godefrid de, 222.
Altofts, 188.
Alverton Galfrid, a cheating clothmaker, 262.
Anacaster, Church of, 130.
Anastasia Fitz-Ralph, 245.
Anchon, 125.
Ancient cloth trade, The, 259-68.
Andrew, St., Church of, at Kildwick, 112.
Anglicum Opus, Clothmaking called, 259.
Anlaff, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74.
Anlaby, Family of, 122.
Anne, Sir William de, holds Tickhill Castle, 18.
Anstan, 7.
Antoninus Pius, 36.
Apostles the, Emblems of, on ancient crosses, 55.
Appleby, 95.
Appletrewick, 219.
Archbishops of York, 82; Biographical notices of, 86-91.
Arches, Ivetta de, 130.
Arden, Hugh, 96.
Arden, John, 224.
Arden, Thomas, 97, 207.
Ardsley, East, 194, 195, 196, 257.
Arkendale, 48.
Arkil, a Danish chieftain, 48.
Arkylgarth, 252, 253, 255.
Armitage family, 108.
Armitage, Samuel, mines coal at Shibden, 274.
Armthorpe Grange, Unlawful arrest at, 180.

Armyn, 57.
Arncliffe, 37.
Arthington Church, typical, 117.
Arthington Family, 153, 155, 156, 158, 160.
Arthington, Gratuity to nuns of, 186.
Arthington, Priory of, 148-161; a clan-station, 47, 48, 57.
Arundel, Earl of, 245; Nicola, his sister, 245.
Aschenald, Richard, 26.
Asheton, Arms of, 99.
Aske, Lady Margaret, 104.
Aslaby family, 121.
Assize of cloths, 262.
Athelstan, 68, 69, 71, 73; prayer for the victory of Brunanburgh, 72; his great distinction, 74.
Attingwicke, Vicar of, slain, 191.
Attewyk, 183.
Aton, Gilbert de, 129, 130, 134.
Aton, Giles, 130.
Aubigny, Nigel de, 118.
Augustine, St., 53.
Axholme, 290, 291.
Aysgarth Moor, 42.

Babthorpe, of Babthorpe, Robt., 249.
Badersby, Joan, 128.
Baggethwaite, 125. 126.
Baghill, 188.
Bainbridge, a Roman station, 42.
Bairstowe, Michael, leases coal in Halifax, 274.
Baker, Robert, hanged, 191.
Balderstone, Simon de, 177.
Ballad on the death of Richard II., 231.
Balladama, Robt., 224.
Balliol, Bernard, 202; Eustace, 243.
Balliol, Hugh de, 215; John, 243.
Balliol, Robt. de, 207.
Bamburgh, 103, 213, 243, 249, 250.
Bannockburn, 114.
Barde, Wm., 105.
Bardulf, Hugh, 19, 20, 22, 23, 119, 125, 126, 127, 205, 226.
Bardulf, Lord, rebels, 247, 248.
Bardulf, Matilda, 211.
Bardulf, Ralph, 126. 226.
Bardulf, Robert, 211.
Barnaby, Drunken, visits Middleham, 256.
Barnbutts, a field name, 294.
Barnebi, 26,
Barnet, Battle of, 244, 250.
Barnoldswick, Coal mining in, 273.
Barnsley, Chantry of St. John, 273.
Barnsley, Coal mining in, 270.
Barnsley, Jackson's history of, 269.
Barnsley Stocks, 197; Chops, 226.
Barons' war, Forces raised for, 180.
Barraclough, Toby, gent., leases coal in Southowram, 277.
Barrows, 1, 2.
Bartune, 200
Barwick-in-Elmete, Coal mining on Brownemoor, 273.
Barwick-in-Elmete, Earthworks at, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16.
Basset, Philip, 215; Ralph, 230.
Batley, 256, 257; Property in, belonging to the Hospitallers, 256.
Battie, Richard, 269.
Batty, Mr. J., on Old Parish life, 194-8.
Bautre, 179.
Beaghall, 45, 47, 57.
Bean Ing, 293.
Beatrice, wife of Richard, 235.
Bebbanburh, 73.
Beauchamp, Giles de, 230.
Beauchamp, Roger de, 201; Hillary, 201.
Beaumont, of Mirfield, 107, 109.
Beaumont, Wm., of Darton, 270.
Beche, William de la, 230.
Bechill, Prebend of, 216.
Becket, his murderers, 203.
Beckwith, of Clint, Thos., 249.
Beer, Women not to pay toll for selling, 228.
Beighton, Earthworks at, 8.
Belay, 219.
Belesure, Robert de, 17, 19
Bellomonte. Henry de, 127.
Bell Pits, 5.
Belmond, Field of, 222.
Benedict, the Jew of Oxford, 105.
Benediflat, in Habbeton, 119.
Benefeld, Ernald de, 119.
Bentelowe, Henry, 103.
Bephast, Dame Joan, 108.
Berg, Bernard de, 119.
Bergeby, Turstan de, 117.
Beringberg, Thos. de, 80.
Berkhampstead, 14.
Berliston, Walter de, hanged, 191.
Berwick, Town of, 94, 250.
Beryngton, Simon, 227.
Beskewood, 182.
Besson, Richard, 255.
Beverley, 67, 68, 70.
Beverley, Convent of Friars, Preachers in, 79.
Beverley, 24, Fine by the men of, 209.
Beverley, John de, a merchant adventurer, 262.
Bickerton, 95, 96, 98.
Bigot, Hugh, 119, 125, 127; Joan, his wife, 119, 127; Dame Constance, 134.

Bigot, Roger, 22; Sir Francis, 254.
Billingham, John, 264.
Bilton, 97, 223, 225.
Bingley, a clan-station, 48;—194.
Bingley Family, 157, 159, 160.
Bird, John, flogged at the cart tail, 196.
Birkhouse, Martin, leases coal, 271.
Birkin, John, 229.
Birstake, 210, 223.
Birstall, 45.
Birstall, Vicar of, persecutes John Nelson, 283.
Bishopric of York founded, 77.
Bishops' Nationality changed by the Conquest, 78.
Bishopsdale, 251, 252, 253.
Bite, 2.
Blackery, at Brough, 68.
Blaithroyde, in Southowram, Mines at, 277.
Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, 187.
Blande, Richard, works coal in Loftus, 273.
Blyth, 7, 16; Priory of, 16, 19.
Boar Hole in Heywra Park, 210.
Blodius, low-latin, red; a favourite colour, 266.
Bloreheath, Battle of, 249.
Bodlum, 119, 120.
Bolebec, Ralph, 126.
Bolebec, Roesia de, 126.
Bolebec, Roger de, 126.
Bolebec, Walter, 207.
Bolebec, Wm. de, 126.
Bolingbroke, 231; Adam de, 80.
Bolsover Castle, 17.
Bolteby, Jordan de, 119; Sibyl, his wife, 119.
Bolton, 213.
Bolton, Canons of, pay for killing wolves, 210.
Bolton, Compotus of, 111;—Castle, 255.
Bonville, Richard de, 206.
Booth, John, of Northowram, leases coal, 276, 277.
Booth, Wm., Abp., 96.
Boroughbridge, 26, 27, 71, 124, 202, 205, 206, 213, 223, 229.
Borrowdale, 441.
Bortin, 3.
Bosco, Roger de, 208.
Boston, an early wool and cloth mart, 263.
Boteler, Roger, 96.
Bowes, 243, 252, 253.
Bowland Forest, Coal-mining in, 273.
Bowling, a clan-station, 47.
Boynton, 39.
Brabant, Cloth trade of, 261.
Brabant petitions against protected trade, 265.
Brabbill, Edward, mines coal in Barnoldswick, 273.
Bracchium, a Roman station, 42.
Bracelets, Saxon, found at Cottingham, 69.
Brachinley, 185.
Brademare, 179.
Bradford, 3.
Bradford, 188.
Bradford, Coal-mining in, 273.
Bradford in the time of John Wesley, 283-86.
Bradford, Gaol of, a disgusting dungeon, 283.
Braham, Barker of, 216.
Bramham Moor, Battle of, 248.
Bramley, 185.
Bramley, Joan, 128.
Bram, Matthew de, 215.
Brampton Byrelowe, Coal-mining in, 273.
Brampton, Richard, 188.
Brand, the Priest, 38.
Brandisal, 119, 120.
Braffords House, 69.
Breaute, Falkes de, 214.
Bretton Priory, 27.
Brian, Albert, 130.
Bridlington, 39, 132:—Priory, 105.
Brie in Champagne, Cloth making introduced at, 259.
Brigg, Mr. John, Kildwick Hall, 113, 114.
Britanny, Countess of, 236.
Britanny, Duke of, 243.
Brito, Wm., 117.
Briwere, Wm., 203, 215.
Broase, Wm., Lord of Brecknock, 95.
Broken Bridge, 27.
Bromborough, assumed site of Brunanburgh, 71.
Bromeridge, assumed site of Brunanburgh, 74.
Bromfield, 230.
Brompton, John, speaks of the Flemings of the Conquest, 260.
Brotton, Matilda, 127; William, 127.
Brough, 67, 68.
Bruce, Dr., author of "Roman Wall," 66.
Bruce, Robt., 222, 235.
Bruce, Agatha, his daughter, married Tayebois, 235.
Bruere Drogo introduces Flemings into Holderness, 260.
Bruges, Market of, should be free to all traders, 265.

Brumby, assumed site of Brunanburgh, 70, 71.
Brumpton, in Pykering-lyth, Church of, 131.
Brun, River, 75.
Brunanburgh, Battle of, 66-76.
Brunanburgh, identification of site, 70, 71.
Brunesburg, assumed site of Brunanburgh, 71.
Brunley, ancient name of Burnley, 75.
Brunnum, 127.
Brus, Avelina, 127.
Brus, Fee of, 217;—Arms of, 135.
Brus, Peter de, 125, 126, 207, 243.
Brwynen, Celtic, a path, 67.
Bryte, Wm., executed, 250.
Bubwith Bridge at Pomfret, 27.
Bubwith, Robert, priest, 96.
Buckele, David, a thief, 224.
Buckland, Dr., 39.
Bugethorpe, Nicholas de, 80.
Buisli, Roger de, 7, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19.
Buisli, Ernald, 17.
Buisli, Muriel, 16, 19.
Buleford, John de, 119.
Bulli, De, 103.
Bulmer, Bertram de, 206.
Bulmer, Ralph, 253.
Burg, 72, 200, 203.
Burg, Hubert, 243.
Burga de Stuteville, 129.
Burga de Vesci, 130.
Burgate, Robert de, 208.
Burgh, Serlo de, 129.
Burgh, John del, 94, 95, 96, 106.
Burgh, Roger, 96, 97; Isabel, 96.
Burgh, De, 94, 98, 106.
Burgh, Richard, 94, 96.
Burgh, Thomas del, 94, 96.
Burgh, Margaret, 94, 96.
Burgh, Thomas de, 94.
Burgh, Serlo, 199.
Burgh, Anne of, 98, 99.
Burillers, 263.
Burnbem, 200.
Burne, 207.
Burnley, assumed site of Brunanburgh, 75.
Burnsall, 45.
Burton, 208.
Burton, Henry de, 212, 215.
Burton, Robert, 264.
Burton, Thomas, Keeper of Woodall Park, 252.
Burtondale, 127.
Buslis, The family of, 19.
Buslis, Beatrice, 17.
Buslis, Robert, 17.
Butler, John, executed, 250.

Cade, Wigan, son of, 200.
Calais, Warwick in command of, 248.
Caldebergh, 246.
Calverley, Walter, mines coal in Bradford, 274.
Calverton gate, 182.
Cambrensis, Giraldus, allusions to the trade skill of Flemings, 260.
Camera, Norman de, 206.
Campsall, 45, 48, 57, 188.
Camville, Gerard, 22, 23.
Caneford, 211.
Canterbury, Abp. of, in possession of Knaresburgh, 206, 208.
Canterbury, Gervaise of, 125.
Cantilupe, Fulk de, 206.
Cantilupe, Nicholas de, 95.
Cantilupe, Sir William, 95, 126, 215; Eva, his wife, 95.
Capel, Alan, son of, 180.
Cardiff, Earthworks at, 13.
Cardinals, Romish, beneficed, 82.
Carleton, 212.
Carlinghow, a clan-station, 47.
Carlisle, Bishopric of, 102.
Carlswark, Earthworks at, 8.
Carmel, Mount, 103.
Carpenter, Alan the, 92, 94.
Carr, a place-name, 290.
Carr, James, Keeper of the Park of Capilbank, 252.
Carr, of York, alters Methley Hall, 287.
Carr, Robert, Constable of Middleham, 252.
Carwindelawe, Robt. de, 127.
Carye, Edward, has the mines of Wakefield, 272; and Northowram, 273.
Castelay, 219.
Castercliffe, 75.
Castleford, 27, 47, 57.
Castle Hall, Mirfield, 106.
Castle Hill and entrenchment at Laughton, 6.
Castle Hill and entrenchment at Mexborough, 11.
Castle Hill, Scarbro', description of, 101.
Castles of the Earl of Lancaster alienated, 230.
Caterich, 71, 72, 191.
Catherine, Mount St., Abbey of, 17, 19.
Catter, 45, 48.
Catterbeck, 116.
Caudebec, Alexander de, 200, 201, 203; illustrates the charge of patronymic, 200.

Cave, Alexander, 130.
Caves of Yorkshire, 35.
Cawerum, Richard, executed, 250
Cawood Castle, Gateway of, 82.
Cawthorne, 125, 127.
Cecil, Sir Wm., 271.
Cedars brought from Lebanon to Methley, 288.
Celtic Cross, Ornamentation of, 54.
Celtic Race not extirpated at the Conquest, 201.
Celtic Sheep-scoring Numerals, 44.
Celts found at Keldholme, 123.
Celts in Upper Wharfedale, 56.
Celts occupied Knaresborough, 199.
Celts occupied Middleham, 235.
Chacumb, Wm. de, 178.
Chaloner, Richard le, 266.
Chamberlain, Margaret, 128.
Chantrell, W., Architect, took away Leeds Cross, 65.
Chantries in Guisborough.
Chantries in Malton.
Chantries in Scarbro', 104.
Chapel Fields in Cowthorpe, 95.
Chapel Wells, Mirfield, 106.
Chapel-en-le Frith, Springs at, 39.
Chappell, John, leases coal in Barnsley, 273.
Chapman, John, executed, 250.
Charnell of Malton, 134.
Chat, John le, 186.
Chatwait, 116.
Chaumpan cloth, 267.
Chest, old carved oak, 100.
Chester, constable of, 127, 226.
Chester, Earl of, 17, 20, 22, 178, 214.
Chester, R., Earl of, Warden of Middleham, 236, 240.
Cheu, Thos. de, 117.
Chidsell, 47.
Chittenham, Walter, 128.
Cholmeley, Sir Richd., Receiver of Middleham, 253.
Churwell, 257.
Cicoingay, Inghram, 214.
Cistercian monks great wool dealers, 263.
Citaux, Abbey of, 102.
Claridge, Wm., of Kildwick and Farnhill, 111-115.
Clarke, Mr. G., F.S.A., on Earthworks of the English period, 5-12; on Tickhill, 13-18; on Pomfret, 25-33; on Middleham, 244.
Clarke, Richard, 256.
Classic Architecture, The introduction of, 288.
Clement, St., Chapel of, 28-30.
Clerk, John, 253.
Clifford, Henry, Lord, 252.
Clifford, John, Lord, 49.
Clifford, Richard de, 182.
Clifford, Robert de, 180.
Clifford, Isabel, his mother, 180.
Clifford, Roger de, 180, 230.
Clifford, Sir Ingram, 98; Epitaph, 98.
Clifton, 223.
Clint, 213.
Clipstone, 21, 23.
Clitheroe, 10, 230.
Cliviger, George, 75.
Cloth-trade, Ancient, Tricks and fallacies of,
Cloth-trade, important in Anglo-Saxon times, 259.
Cloth-trade, Regulated by enactment, 261.
Clotheram, John, 225.
Cnorresburg, 201.
Coal-mining in Halifax, 269, 282.
Coal-poaching, 269, 270.
Coals, 2½d. for a horse-load, 276.
Cockerham, 214.
Cock-pit at Bradford used as a Methodist Chapel, 285.
Cocky, the Jew, 105.
Coffins, &c., found at Keldholm, 123.
Cogware, a species of cloth, 265, 266.
Cokfield, Robert, executed, 250.
Colet, Dean, 84.
Colethorpe, Adam de, 96.
Colethorpe, Geoffrey, and Alice, his wife, 92.
Coleville, Robt. de, 214.
Coleville, Sir John, beheaded at Durham, 247.
Coley manor, 258.
Colingham, a clan-station, 47, 57.
Colingham, Margaret de, 191.
Colman, Abbot, 54.
Colne, 75.
Columba de Engleby, 119.
Common Prayer, Book of, forbidden, 85.
Conan, Earl of Britanny, 237.
Coneshal, William, 180.
Conisburgh, 11, 32, 179, 180, 181, 230, 253.
Conqueror, Robert, executed, 250.
Constable, Marmaduke, 128.
Constable, Robert, 128.
Constables of Knaresburgh, 200, 203, 204, 213, 219, 220, 225.
Constantine, King of Alban, 73.
Conyers, Richard, 251.
Conyers, Sir John, 251, 253.

Conyers, William, 251.
Cooper, J., on Hemsley stocks, 198.
Coppendale, Adam, 264.
Corbelt, Peter de, 211.
Cornbure, Wm. de, 210.
Cornhill, Wm. de, 209.
Cornwall, Earl of, 219, 224.
Cornwall, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of, 217, 218.
Cornwall, Russet cloths of, 265.
Cornwall, Richard, Earl of, 217.
Costa, Water of, 126.
Cotes, Saml., of Southowram, 277.
Cotherstone, 190.
Cottescough park, 252.
Cottingham, 67, 69, 253.
Cottingley, a clan-station, 48.
Cotum, 127.
Courci, Robert, 191.
Courteney, Robt. de, 200.
Courteney, Alice de, 200.
Coupland, 201.
Coventry, 248.
Coventry, Frieze of, 265.
Coverdale, 5, 42, 235, 245, 253.
Coverham Abbey founded, 237—243. 245, 246.
Coverham, Ralph, Lord of, 236.
Cowthorpe Church and village, 91-101.
Cowthorpe Oak, 100.
Craddoc, Wm., 201.
Crake Hall, 48, 245, 253.
Craven, 114.
Cremation in pre-historic times, 3.
Crendon, or Grendon, 121.
Crepping, Robert de, 124, 207.
Cretton, Walter de, priest, 96.
Crimple, river, 91.
Croft, John, 256.
Crofton, 120.
Cromwell, Oliver, 234.
Croper, William the, of Skipton, 261.
Cropton, 120, 125, 126.
Crosse, Rev. John, vicar of Bradford, 284.
Crosses, Ilkley, 53-61; Crowle, 56; Leeds.
Croswett, in Ribestein, 212.
Croual, Joan, 127.
Crowlecross, 56; place-name, 58.
Crown the, Earl of Lancaster's estates confiscated to, 231.
Croxton, Jon of, 122, 128.
Croysir, Geo., of Southowram, clothier, mines coal, 277.
Cruch, Aldusa de, hanged, 191.
Crusades, their effect on the woollen trade, 263.
Cuerdale, Coins found in, 75.
Cullingworth, a clan-station, 48.
Cumberland, 203.
Cundal, 48.
Cunester, Roger, son of William, 130.
Currer family, 112, 113.
Currer, Henry, barrister, 113, 114.
Currer, Dorothy, his daughter, 113.
Curthore, Robert, 28, 118.
Cussyng, William, 177.
Cuthbert, St., 54.
Cutun, 216.
Cymberworth, 179.

Dacre, Wm., Lord, 253.
Dadsley, 16.
Dalton, bell-founder, 100.
Damon, Roger, 222.
Danish Hatchet, service by delivery of, 235.
Danes' Dyke, Entrenchments, 41.
Dapifer, John the, 130.
Darel, Marmaduke, 218.
Darnal, 48.
Darney, William, an early Bradford Methodist, 285.
Darrel, Family of, 122.
Darrington, a clan-station, 48.
Darton, 229, 269.
David, Earl, brother of the King of Scots, 20, 22.
Dawson, Wm., executed, 250.
Dayrell, Ralph, 121.
Dayrell, Sybill, 121.
Dayvill, Elena, 127.
Deighton, North, 96.
Denbigh, 230.
Denton, 206.
Denton, George, of Halifax, yeoman, leases coal, 276.
Depeden, Sir John, 122.
Derby, 206, 209.
Dertford, 218.
Devon, Earl of, 214.
Devon, Russet cloths of, 265.
Devonshire, Duke of, 49, 51.
Dewsbury, 35, 47.
Dha Howel, slain at Brunanburgh, 69, 72.
Dighton, John, 107.
Dinner on Lord Rockingham coming of age, 134.
Diocesan History of York, 77.
Dirtcarr in Northowram, Mining at, 276.
Dispensator, Galfrid, 212.
Dispensor, Hugh, 222.
Diva, Leodgarius de, 213.
Dodson, John, 269.
Dodsworth's Notes, 97, 99.
Don, River, a line of defence, 8, 11.

Doncaster, 250.
Doncaster on the line of British defences, 12, 48; fortified by King John, 19.
Doneford, Henry, 80.
Donington, 229, 230.
Dorset, Alex. de, 207, 212, 216.
Dove House, Shibden, coal mines at, 270.
Dover, 216.
Dove, river, 115, 116, 119; sinks at Yawdwath, 122.
Dowkerbottom Cave, 35; place-name.
Drake, John, of Northowram, a coal poacher, 271.
Drake, Thos., of Kildwick, 112.
Drenges, native tenants in capite, 202.
Driby, Simon, Warden of Pomfret, 230.
Driffield, 30, 40, 74.
Drighlington, a clan-station, 47.
Dringehuses, 201.
Drury, Nigel, 181.
Dublin, Danes of, at Brunanburgh, 71.
Duffield, Canon Wm., his goods, 267.
Dugdale, 125.
Duil Cross, 72.
Dummyngdyke in York, 80.
Duneford, 201.
Dunpain, John de, 191.
Dunstanburgh, 249, 330.
Durand, 119.
Durham, 125, 210, 225, 247.
Durham, Hugh, Bishop of, 21, 22, 23.
Durham, Symeon of, 66.
Durham, Wolsey, Bishop of, 84.
Duxburry, Nell, in the pillory, 195.
Dyer, Richard the, of Skipton, 261.
Dyer, Simeon the, 261.

Eadred, King, at Tanshelf, 26; lost Bebbanburh, 73.
Earthworks of the English period, 5-18; at Brough, 68; the sites of later Castles, 4, 200, 204.
Easingwold, 253.
Eastmead, Mr., *History of Kirby Moorside*, 122.
Eaton, Thos., may impark at Gilling, 172.
Eboracum, dwelling-place of the Roman Cæsars, 77.
Eccleshill, 285.
Ede, of Abbeton, 119.
Edeston, 38, 116, 117, 118, 120, 196.
Edlington, a clan-station, 48.
Edmund, brother of Athelstan, 74.
Edward, Confessor, Arms of, 99, 235.
Edward, Prince, in possession of Skipton, 218.
Edward, Prince of Wales, born at Middleham, 244.
Edward, I., 82; a game preserver, 164.
Edward II. at Knaresborough, 223.
Edward II. impoverishes the wool and cloth trades, 264.
Edward II.'s remorse at Lancaster's execution, 231.
Edward III. at Knaresborough, 225.
Edward IV. confined at Middleham, 244.
Edwin, Earl, his *Aula*, 7, 8, 16; King of Northumbria, 10, 235.
Egglisfield, Agnes, 194.
Egils' Saga on Brunanburgh, 67, 70, 73, 74.
Egremunt, Wm. de, 151, 201.
Egton, 119, 125.
Ekkersley Hall, 258.
Elderbeck, John, executed, 250.
Eleanor, Queen, founded the Chapel of St. Nicholas, Tickhill, 17, 20.
Elias, Wm., and Alan, sons of, 203.
Ellacombe, Rev. H. T., on Campanology, 162.
Ellis, Mr. A. S., on the battle of Brunanburgh, 71.
Elsi, 16.
Elslake in Craven, 222.
Elvyngton, 253.
Embsay, Canons of, 111, 151.
Emroyd in Batley, 257.
Emsall, 45, 48, 188.
Engleby, Columba de, 119; Wm. de, 119.
English continued their power after the Conquest, 200.
Erneburga, 115.
Especer, John le, 80.
Essex, Roger de, 214.
Estover in Cowthorpe, 94.
Ethanwerke, site of Brunanburgh, 66.
Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, 71.
Eure, Henry, 133.
Evers, Sir Wm., 105.
Evenwit, 116, 119, 120.
Everingham, Sir John, 192; Constable of Pomfret, 233.
Exton, Sir Pier, 233.

Fadmore, 119, 120.
Fairfax, Thomas, 172.
Fairfex, William, of York, 80.
Falconberg, Isabella, 128.
Falconberg, Lord, beheaded at Durham, 247.
Falconberg, Sir John, 247.

Falconberg, Walter, 157.
Farmaneby, 126, 127.
Farnel, Adam de, 114.
Farnel, Wm. de, 114.
Farndale, 119, 168, 220.
Farnham, 200, 211, 215.
Farnhill, 111-115, 214.
Farnhill Hall, 114.
Farnley, 166.
Farrer, Henry, of Ewood, 271.
Farrer, Wm., of Ingleborough, 36.
Fasing, Roger and Ralph, hanged, 191.
Fawkes, Guy, ringer at Cowthorpe, 100.
Faxflet, 222.
Fedmore, Nicholas de, 112.
Fedringale, Roger, 154.
Fellisclifte, 210, 166, 214, 223.
Felton, Matilda, 128.
Fenwick, Thomas, executed, 250.
Fergaunt, Alan, 235.
Ferling, the hunter, 210.
Ferrars, Earl of, 20, 22, 129; Agnes, his daughter, 129.
Ferrars, Wm. de, 115.
Ferrybridge, 187.
Feudal stronghold and its victims, 226-34.
Field-names of Rosedale, 128.
Fines, an easy mode of raising money, 209.
Firbeck, 7.
Firedamp, early explosion of, 270.
Fishlake, place-name, 46, 176.
Fitz-Alan, Brian, 190.
Fitz-Alan, Constance, 216.
Fitz-Gerald, Warin, 154, 206.
Fitz-Henry, Hugh, 190, 215.
Fitz-Henry, Ralph, 211.
Fitz-Herbert, Matthew, 126.
Fitz-Hugh, Robert Lord, steward of Middleham, 251.
Fitz-Hugh, Sir Edmund, 250.
Fitz-John, Agnes, 130.
Fitz-John, Eustace, 129, 130, 202.
Fitz-Nigel, Osbert, 236.
Fitz-Ralph, Hugh, Sheriff of Nottingham, 191.
Fitz-Ralph, Anastasia, 245.
Fitz-Ralph, Ralph, 243, 245.
Fitz-Ralph, Robert, 235, 237, 239, 243.
Fitz-Robert, Alice, 237.
Fitz-Robert, Ralph, of Middleham, 237, 243.
Fitz-Walter, Theobald, 20.
Fitz-Warin, Gwiemar, 236.
Fitz-Warin, William, 130.
Fitz-William, Earl of, 178.
Fitz-William, Robert, priest, 95.
Fitz-William, Thomas, 105.
Flagons of Oil, a donation, 127.
Flameville, Hugh, 130.
Flameville, Ivetta, 130.
Flameville, Matilda, 130.
Flameville, Roger de, 130.
Flanders, Baldwin, Earl of, 260.
Flasby, 114, 160, 218.
Flaskey in Northowram, 271.
Flass, a place-name, 292.
Fleetwood, 76.
Fleming, Reyner, 260.
Flemings colonise Ross in Wales, 260.
Flemings did not introduce the cloth trade, 259.
Flemings introduced by Edward III., 264.
Flemings introduced into Wales by Henry I., 260.
Flemings introduced into Yorkshire at the Conquest, 260.
Flemings obtain permission to introduce woollen cloths, 262.
Flemings protectionists in trade, 265.
Fletcher, Mr. Caleb, 122, 123.
Fleteham, 213.
Flint, John, 92, 99.
Flocks not to be used in making cloth, 265, 268.
Flockton, Coal leased in, 273.
Flodden, Weapons from, 114.
Florence Merchants fined for false weights, 262.
Fodringhay, Roger, 154.
Foliot, Jordan, 229.
Follifait, 95.
Forest, Edward, 254.
Forest of Knaresborough burnt by the Scots, 222, 223.
Fornes, William, of Shelf, 272.
Fortalice in Heywra Park, 226.
Fortibus, Isabel, 154.
Fortibus, Wm. de, 153, 214.
Fortifications, later earthworks, 5, 18.
Fortifications, Prehistoric, 3, 42.
Foster, Capt. Thomas, holds Middleham Castle, 256.
Fothergills, of London, 114.
Fountains, Henry de, 207.
Fountains, Monks of, 208.
Fourness, Robert, 257.
Foxholme in Galtres, 171
France, King of, at Methley, 191.
Frazer, Robert, 130.
Freez, Frederick, printer, 84, 85; his son prosecuted, 85.
Freez, Valentine, burnt for heresy, 85.
Friars Minors, Church of at York, 96.
Friars Preachers introduced, 79.

Frickley, 46.
Frith, John, 269.
Fulbeck, 190.
Fulbrik, 222.
Fullers, trade regulated by law, 262.
Fulthorpe, Sir William, Judge, 247.
Fulthorpe, Thomas, 254.
Furnival, Thos. de, 179.
Fustian, 267.
Fylde district, Danish relics in, 76.
Fynderum, Sir Thos., executed, 250.

Gacé, Geoffrey de, 19.
Galfrid, priest of Keldholm, 120.
Galleghaye, 170.
Gallows in the Forest, 216, 217.
Gallows, punishment of, 179, 180, 202.
Galon, Robt., of Scarbro', 104; Annice, his wife, 104
Galtres, Forest of, 164, 165, 171, 172, 247.
Gant, Gilbert, introduces Flemings into Lincolnshire, 260.
Gant, Walter, introduces Flemings into Swaledale, 260.
Gaol delivery at Nottingham, 191.
Garforth family, 113.
Gargrave, 113.
Gargrave, John de, 177.
Gargrave, Sir Thomas, 257, 271.
Gascoigne, Judge, 171, 247.
Gascoigne, Wm., of Harewood, 171.
Gascoyne, Isabell, 106.
Gascoyne, Richd., 171.
Gaukethorpe, Henry, 157.
Gaunless, Park of, see Wanneless.
Gaunt, John of, 187, 188, 226, 244; obtains Tickhill, 18.
Gaunt, Maurice's, Charter to Leeds, 186.
Gaveston, Peter, 280.
Geoffrey, Abp. of York, 19, 21, 22
Gerrarde, Thos., B.D., preaches at Jervaux, 254.
Ghent, a cloth mart, 266.
Gibson, Richard, a miner, 269.
Giffard, John, of Brymmerfield, 211.
Gig mills to be disused, 263.
Gilbert, founder of the Order of Sempringham, buried at Malton, 132.
Gilda Tellariorum, the oldest London guild, 263.
Gilding-Wells, 7.
Gilling, 72, 127.
Gilling-Mor, 117, 120.
Gilpatric, Danish chief of Middleham, 235.
Gipsies, Correction of, 194.
Gipsy-Springs, 39.
Glanville, Ralph, 202, 207, 235, 236, 237.
Glanville, Bertha, his grand-daughter, 207.
Glendower, Owen, 247.
Gloucester, G., Earl of, 214.
Gloucester, Richard, Duke of, obtains Middleham, 244.
Godard, dapifer, 151.
Godfrid driven into exile, 73.
Godley Lane in Northowram, 271.
Goldesburc, Richd. de, 159, 215.
Goldesburgh, Alice, 213.
Goldesburgh, Robt., 156.
Goldesburgh, Wm. de, 213.
Gomersal, 45, 47, 258.
Goree, Thomas, executed, 250.
Goscelin (? Archdeacon of Chichester), 154.
Goscelin, Wm., Son of, 201.
Gospatric, Son of Oron, 200.
Gowdale, 45, 47.
Gra, Thos., may hunt in Galtres, 170. 267.
Grammary, Dispute with Beeston, 168.
Gray, Abp. Walter, a great benefactor, 78; resides much at Knaresborough, 213, 216.
Gray, Abp. Walter, organises cloth-making, 262.
Gray, John de, 215.
Gray, Nicholas, Sheriff, 222.
Gray, Sir Ralph, holds Bamborough 250.
Greenfield, Abp., 220.
Green's History of the English People, 70, 78.
Greenstreet, Rev. Mr., 113.
Greenwood, J. B., Dewsbury Moor, 109.
Greenwood, Robert, advocate of York, 122.
Gregory Scar in Grassington, 42.
Grenham, Ralph de, 219.
Greseley, Agnes, 211.
Greseley, Isabella, 211.
Greseley, Ralph, 211.
Gressacre, Wm., priest, 106.
Grestinura, 166, 210, 214.
Greyndorge, Wm. de, 218.
Gros, Wm. le, 101.
Grundebeof, Robert, 118.
Grymes, Roger, 119.
Gryscopp, Thos. Chapman, of York,
Gudrek, 73.
Guild of St. Thomas á Becket, 264.

Guilds, clothmakers', 261.
Guilds, Huntingdon.
Guilds, Lincoln.
Guilds, London.
Guilds, Nottingham.
Guilds, Oxford.
Guilds, York.
Guisborough Church, Dimensions of, 135.
Guisborough Priory, 134-148.
Guisborough Priory Church burnt down, 136.
Guisborough Priory, Norman Gateway, 134.
Gwiemar, Fitz-Warin, 236.
Gyseburn, 125.

Habbeton, Little, 119, 120.
Habbeton, Nicholas de, 119.
Habbeton, William de, 119.
Haga, an enclosure, 185.
Haldein, Wm., of Eyton, hanged, 191.
Haldesworth, John, 181.
Halifax, 48, 176; coal-mining, 269-282.
Hall, John, 194.
Hall, a military outpost, 46, 58.
Hall Tower-hill, an entrenchment at Barwick, 9.
Hallam, 48.
Hallamshire, 179.
Hallas Rough Park, 48.
Hallmote, a Saxon Court, 46.
Hamerton, Richard, of Craven, 98.
Hamerton, Johanna, his daughter, 98.
Hamerton, Arms of, 99.
Hammond, Peter, 161.
Hampole, 45, 127.
Hampsthwaite, 208, 214, 223.
Hampsthwaite, Mill of, 208.
Handsworth, coal-mines in, 269.
Hanging, 191.
Hanging in consequence of official perjury, 189.
Hanse merchants, 264.
Hanshus at Beverley, 58.
Harcurt, Wm., 127, 226, 227.
Hardcastle, C. D. on the Cloth trade, 268.
Hardcastle, C. D., on Place-names connected with water, 290-94.
Hardman, Mary, 194.
Hardwick, 182.
Hardwick, Forest of, 166, 175.
Harewood, 149, 153, 158, 167, 171, 225.
Harewood, Market and fair at, 167.
Harkale, Richard, son of, 200.
Harker, Bailey J., on Grassington, 41-3.
Harold, Earl, married Morcar's sister, 7-8.
Harrogate, 226.
Hartha, Arthington, 148.
Hartlepool a wool port, 264.
Hartshead Hall, 257.
Harum, Wm. de, 119.
Harvie, John, of Shibden Hall, 274.
Haslington, a clan-station, 48.
Hastings, Robert, 130.
Hastings, Matilda, 130.
Hastings, Lord, beheaded at Durham, 247.
Hatfield, 176, 253.
Hatfield Chace, 179.
Hathersage, earthworks at, 8.
Haunsard, Gilbert, 243.
Haward the priest, 38.
Hawe, 178.
Hawkeswick, place-name, 35.
Haybote and Housebote, 191.
Haye Park, 209, 225.
Hazlewood, 166.
Headingley, 155, 167.
Hebden, 50.
Hedgley Moor, affair at, 249.
Hedlaysyk, in Wakefield, 177.
Helagh Park, 169.
Heleford, 213.
Helewie, 154.
Helewisia de Glanville, 235, 236, 237.
Helgæli, 16.
Helmsley, 11, 38, 200.
Helmsley Stocks, 198.
Hell-garth at Brough, 69.
Helthwaite, 154, 158.
Henage, Sir Thos., 271.
Hengrave, Gilbert de, 190.
Hengrave, Richard de, 190.
Henry, Abp. of York, 130.
Henry I., 115, 116, 118, 119.
Henry II. orders a castle at Scarbro', 102.
Henry II., charter to Knaresbrough, 202.
Henry VII., 233.
Henry VIII., his preference for Colet, 84.
Herdewyke, Henry de, 94.
Herdewyke, Margery, 94.
Hermits of Kirkstall, probably Salavagi, 260.
Heron, a gentleman of Northumberland, visits Mountgrace, 254.
Herthington, Wm. de, 95.
Hervey, Henry Fitz, 207.
Heseles, Les, 182.
Hesilrigg, Lady Joan, 122.
Heton, Lady Isabella de, 122.
Heton, Sir John, 106, 107, 108.

Heton, Margaret, his wife, 106, 107.
Hexham, affair at, 249.
Heydon, Richard, 175, 180.
Heywra Park, 166, 171, 210, 225, 226.
Hill, Benedict, 225.
Hinton, John de, 215.
Hipperholme, coal mines in, 271, 275.
Hirst, John, 109.
Hirst, Samuel, 109.
Holderness, 220.
Holderness, Poaching in, 165.
Holgate, Robt., obtains the grant of Malton, 134.
Holgate, Robt., Abp., 183.
Holland, wine bought in, 209.
Holm, James de, 119.
Holmes, J., on Ilkley Tablet, 66.
Holmes, Richard, on Dr. Whitaker's blunder, 228.
Holmesfield, Earthworks at, 8.
Hook, Dr., rebuilds Leeds Parish Church, 65.
Hopton family, 108.
Hopton, Sir Ingram 108.
Hopton, Roger, 193 289.
Horbury, coal mines in, 269.
Horneby, 243.
Hornecliffe, Nicholas, 253.
Hornington, a clan-station, 57.
Horseford, 120, 167.
Horsford, Nigel, 156.
Horsele, Roger, 230.
Horses, Spanish, 210.
Horsfall, Richard, 109; Ann, 109.
Hospital of Jesus at Middleham, 255.
Hospitallers, Knights, 153.
Hospitallers, Knights, a relic of, 256.
Hotham, John, 130.
Hou, Robert de, of Stokesley, a cheating clothmaker, 262.
Houeden, Roger de, 102, 118, 119, 129, 203, 260.
Hovingham, Dan John, 97.
Howe Hill, at Brough, 69.
Hubba, the Dane, 150.
Hubberholm, 150.
Hubert, Abp. of Canterbury, 21.
Huby, 253.
Hudersal, Swane de, 201.
Hull, founded, 263; a wool port, 264.
Hull, Carthusian Priory, 96; convent of friars-preachers in, 79.
Humez, Agnes, 252.
Humez, Emma de, 131.
Humez, Richard, 252.
Hungerford, Lord, executed, 250.
Hunsingore, a clan-station, 48.
Hunt, Thomas, executed, 250.
Hunt, Walter, executed, 250.
Hunter, Adam, 182.
Hunter, John and Thomas, mine coals at Bradford, 274.
Huntingfield, Isabel, 203.
Huntingfield, Wm. de, 203.
Huntman, Adam, 264.
Husye, Sir Thos., executed, 250.
Hutton, Richard, 255.
Hyrrgyr, a leader at Brunanburgh, 74, 75.

Idle, 45, 47, 49.
Ightenhill, co. Lanc., 225.
Ilkley, a Roman station, 56; discoveries at, 61.
Illingworth, a clan-station, 48.
Ingaldesthorpe, Edmund, 249.
Ingethlingum (Gilling), 72.
Ingfangtheof, 179.
Ingham, Mrs., of Blake Hall, 111.
Ingham, Oliver, 230.
Ingleborough, Hill-fort at, 4; cave at, 36.
Ingleby, 120.
Ingleby, Arms of, 99.
Ingleton, 5,
Inglewood Forest, 217.
Insula, Amice de, 214.
Insula, Baldwin de, 214.
Insula, Brian de, 187, 204, 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214.
Insula, Robert de, 206, 224, 225.
Insula, Simon, warden of Richmond, 236.
Interments, ancient, 2, 3, 40.
Inthekill, 119.
Ireby, Wm. de, 93, 219, 224.
Irenpurs, Robert, a cheating clothmaker, 262.
Ironstone mines at Rosedale, 128.
Isabel, Queen, holds the forest, 224.
Ismay, Mr., of Winfield, 106, 108, 109; Maria, 108; Thomas, 108.
Isurium, 42.

Jackson, Robert, priest, 98.
Jacobs, Mr. Bethel, 69.
James, St., Chantry of Malton, 134.
Jarpeville, Roger de, 214.
Jervaux, Gerrard's sermon at, 254.
Jessop, Rev. Thos., 100.
Jews follow the wool and woollen trades, 264.
Jews of York, 80.
Joan, Fitz-Ralph, 245.
John, King, 116, 123.
John, King, besieges Tickhill, 20.

John stopped at Knaresbrough, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210, 213, 215, 237.
John, King, at Scarbro', 116.
John of Lancaster, Prince, 247.
Johnston, J., 197.

Kaingham, Preaching in, 165.
Karleton, Reginald de, hanged, 191.
Karwindelawe, Robert de, 117.
Katilscroft at Bunscarlit, 126.
Kay, Robert, 98.
Keldholm, 120, 129.
Keldholme Hall, 123.
Keldholme Priory, 115-123.
Keldre, river, 177.
Kellingley, a clan-station, 47, 57.
Kellington, a clan-station, 47, 57.
Kemp, John, Cardinal, 82.
Kendall Castle, 203.
Kenilworth, 230.
Kenilworth, Dictum of, 218.
Kenilworth, Earthworks at, 13.
Kent, Edward, Earl of, 127.
Kent, Margaret, Countess of, 243.
Kesewick, 219.
Ketel, 41.
Kettlewell, 37, 42, 50.
Kiddal, 45, 47.
Kildale Church, 40.
Kildwick, 111-115, 152.
Kildwick Church, granted to Christ Church, Oxford, 112.
Kildwick Hall, 113.
Kersemere, an ancient name of cloth, 265.
Kersemere becomes a patronymic, 265, 266.
Killinghall, 166, 208, 210, 223.
Killinghall, a clan-station, 48.
Kilnese, Poaching in, 165.
Kime, Philip, 164.
Kime, Rohcis, 157.
Kime, Simon, 156, 157.
King's bailiffs refused entry upon lands, 179.
King's Newton, Derbyshire, 3.
King's purveyors extortionate, 192.
Kippax, 37, 188.
Kirbymoorside, 11, 115, 116, 118, 120.
Kirbymoorside, Castle of, 34.
Kirkby Hill Church, 34.
Kirkby, ancient name of Pomfret, 26, 27.
Kirkby Malsart, 172.
Kirkbymoorside, Elizabeth, 128.
Kirkdale Cave and Church, 34.
Kirk Deighton, 92.
Kirk Deighton Church, 93.
Kirk Deighton, Manor of, 95.
Kirk Deighton, Norman lord of, 92.
Kirkleatham, 3.
Kirklees, Prioress of, 257.
Kirk Deighton, Rector of, 96.
Kirklees Priory, 106, 107.
Kirklees Priory founded, 260.
Kirklington, near Ripon, 121, 196.
Kirkstall, 150, 155, 156, 157, 166, 167, 185.
Knaresborough, 26, 44, 71, 72, 116, 124, 129, 165, 170, 171, 173, 192, 234, 248.
Knaresborough Castle and Forest, 199.
Knaresborough Castle seized by the rebels under Lancaster, 222.
Knaresborough, Constables of, 187.
Knaresborough, place name, 201.
Knaresburgh, Advowson of the Church of, 217.
Knaresburgh, Chase of the Castle, 220.
Knaresburgh, Henry, minister, 220, 222.
Knaresburgh, Hospital of, 222.
Knaresburgh, Prison in Castle of, 166.
Knight, Rev. Titus, of Halifax, a collier, 282.
Knottingley, 27, 28, 47, 57, 188.
Knowl, 47.
Knout, Eva, 93.
Knout, Richard, 93.
Kyrkeby, Richard de, 1 9.

Laci, Alice de, 177.
Laci, Edmund, owns Tickhill, 17.
Lacy, Henry de, 185.
Laci, Henry, Earl of Lincoln, 103, 227.
Lacy, 17, 27, 28.
Lacy, John de, admitted to his lands, 228, 229.
Lacy, Roger's charter to burgesses, 228, 229.
Laiston, Roger de, 126.
Lancaster Castle, 20, 23.
Lancaster, Duchy of, 189.
Lancaster, Henry, Duke of, 187.
Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of, 18, 33, 221, 222.
Lancaster, Thomas, Earl of, defence at Boroughbridge, 223.
Lancaster, Thos., Earl of, trial and execution of, 229, 230.
Langberg, 225.
Langefield, Wm. de, 177.
Langescales, 214.
Langeton, 129, 130, 131.
Lang kirk in Craven, 112.
Langestrode Chace, 172.

Langtoft, Margaret de, 127.
Langton, Wm., 96.
Lanval, Hugh de, 27.
Lascels, Roger de, 130.
Lassell, Wm., 156.
Latchmore, J., on Dowkerbottom Cave, 35-37.
Latimer, Bp., denounces cheating in cloth trade, 268.
Latimer, Wm., 130.
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Church of, 7, 8.
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Earthworks at, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16.
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Manor of, 18.
Laurence, Rosedale dedicated to, 128.
Lawton, Adam, fined for taking coals in Darton, 269.
Lazinby, George, a refractory monk, 254.
Lazingcroft, a clan-station, 47.
Lead mines, 49.
Leathley, 218, 220.
Leathley stocks, 197.
Leathley, Walter, Parson of, in trouble, 218.
Ledenham, 190.
Ledes, Paulinus de, 102.
Ledsham, 57.
Lee, Abp, renounced the papal authority, 84.
Leeds, 57, 188; coal mined in, 273.
Leeds Cross taken into Sussex, 65.
Leeds, Paganel's charter to, 228.
Leeds Parish Church rebuilt, 65.
Leeds, Robinson, vicar of, 85; puritanism of, 86.
Leeds stocks, 196.
Lefsi, Alan, son of, 201.
Legedium, 28, 57.
Le Haye, in Wakefield, 177.
L'Hermitage in Tanfield, 171.
Leland, 15, 26, 31, 32; Description of Middleham, 255.
Lelay, Hugh, 157, 167, 169.
Lelay, Ralph, 165.
Lelay, Robert, 157, 168.
Lelay, William, 169.
Leonard's, St., Chantry, Malton, 134.
Lepers, House of, 217.
Leprosy, a terrible scourge, 79.
Letwell, 7.
Leventhorpe, Nicholas, 192, 233.
Leyburn, Robert, 230.
Leyburne, Idonea de, 179, 180.
Leyburne, Roger de, 180.
Leys, Earthworks at, 8.
Lightfoot, Christopher, 253.
Ligulf, of Kildale, 40.
Liley, 108.
Lime-kiln at Chatwait, 116.
Lincoln, 208, 214.
Lincoln, a great wool mart, 263.
Lincoln Cathedral, 105; Ornament at, 133.
Lincoln, Countess of, 214.
Lincoln, foreign merchants may deal there freely, 263.
Lincoln, Henry, Earl of, 227.
Lincoln, John, Earl of, 229.
Lindley, 218.
Lindley Wood, 197.
Lindley, Falcasius de, 218.
Liolfhanne, 219.
Lister, Dorothy, his widow, marries Mr. Sterne, 278.
Lister, J., M.A., on ancient coal mining, 269.
Lister, James, of Shibden, 277, 281.
Lister, John, of Overbrea, leases coal in Northowram, 277.
Lister, Nicholas, 264.
Lister, Samuel, of Shibden, 277, 278.
Lister, Wm., of Halifax, draper, 268.
Little Park under the Castle, 225.
Litton Dale, 37, 172.
Liversedge, Great and Little, 257.
Lochen, Henry, a thief, 219.
Lockton, 125, 126.
Lofthouse, 211.
Lofthouse Moor, Mining in, 272.
Lofthus, 207, 208.
Loftus of Ely, Edward Visct., 256.
Lokton, Agnes de, 134.
Lombard horses, 207.
Longbottom, Lydia, whipped, 194.
Lorraine, Cloth trade of, 261.
Loscars at Brough, 69.
Louis, Duke of Aquitaine, 74.
Lounde, Agnes, 225.
Lounde, Robert, 225.
Louth, King John at, 119.
Lovell, John, Lord, 49.
Loversall, 45, 48.
Lucas, J., on Grassington lead mines, 49-53.
Lumby, 96.
Lumley, Isabella de, 128.
Lungespee, Matilda de, 211.
Lupus, Robert, 211, 212.
Lusignan, Geoffrey de, 17.
Lusignan, Ralph de, 17.
Luton, 214.
Lutterel, Galfrid, 126.
Luvel, Wm., 119.
Lynom, Thomas, 252, 253.

Lyon, Family of, 122.
Lytton, Lord, describes Middleham in "The Last of the Barons," 249.

Macclesfield, 225.
Mackworth, Thomas, keeper of West Park, 252.
Maesbeli, Mexborough, Saxons defeated at, 12.
Magnus, King of Norway, 19.
Malebisse, Hugh, 236.
Malkake, Alan, 126.
Malkake, William, 126.
Malteby, Robt. de, 119.
Malteby, Emma, his wife, 119.
Maltemby, 201.
Malton, 11; Scotch King at, 23; Castle held against Stephen, 129.
Malton, Church of, 130.
Malton, Dreadful accident at, 131.
Malton, John de, 218.
Malton, Priory of Our Lady of, 129-34.
Malton, 194, 202, 205.
Manesthorp, 26.
Mankanholes in Sourebishire, 177.
Manningham, a clan-station, 47.
Manslaughter concealed for bribes, 180.
Mare, Edw. de la, executed, 250.
Mareschal, W., Earl, 214.
Margaret, Countess of Kent, 243.
Market towns, First establishment of, 57.
Markevale, Wm., 226.
Markington, a clan-station, 48.
Marshall, Maria, 128.
Marshall, Richard, priest, 96.
Martin the Sergeant, 117.
Marton, Henry, 252.
Marton in Burgeshire, Church of, 130.
Mary of Middleham, 237, 243, 245.
Massam, Nicholas, executed, 250.
Mastac, William de, 124.
Mather, Christopher, leases coal in Leeds, 273.
Matilda, Queen, 16.
Maud, Empress, lives at Tickhill, 7.
Maude, Rev. R., of Mirfield, 110, 111.
Mauleverer, Ralph, 201.
Mauleverer, Alice, 201.
Mauleverer, William, 201.
Mealton, old form of Malton, 130
Measure of cloth to be uniform, 261.
Meauton, old form of Malton, 131.
Meger, Catherine, a nun of Rosedale, 128.
Mek, Robert le, 80.
Mekesburgh, Richard, steals coals, 269.
Melburn, 230.
Meldrum, Sir John, 105.
Melsanby, 190, 191.
Melsunby, Parson of, 191.
Melton, Abp., 127.
Melton, Nicholas, 93.
Menewit, 214, 223.
Merewell, Richard de, 264.
Merfyan, Robt., executed, 250.
Merkevale, Richard, 220.
Merlawe, Dennis de, 18.
Merlesweyn, 92.
Metcalfe, Brian, 253.
Metcalfe, Jas., the King's Serg., 251, 253.
Metcalfe, Miles, 252.
Metcalfe, Thomas, 252, 255.
Metham, Thos., Justice, 171.
Methelay, Thos. de, 178.
Methley, 3.
Methley, King of France a prisoner at, 191.
Mexborough, Earthworks at, 11, 12.
Middleham Castle, 235-56.
Middleham, Charter of market, 238.
Middleham, Earthworks at, 5;—200.
Middleham descends to Annie Neville, 250.
Middleham, Duke of Somerset rebels at, 249.
Middleham involved in Simnel's rebellion, 253
Middleham sold to citizens of London, 255.
Middleham, King Edward stopping at, 250.
Middleham, Knights fees of, 245.
Middleham Parks enclosed, 173, 246.
Middleham, Parson the Dean of, 255.
Middleham, Rebels march from, under the Earl of Salisbury, 244.
Middleton, 125, 127, 169, 218.
Middleton, Henry de, 190.
Middleton, Richard, clerk, may hunt, 170.
Mideldayl, in Pykering, 126.
Miller, Gilbert the, hanged, 191.
Milnegrene in Neusom, 119.
Minskipp, 223.
Mirfield, 257.
Mirfield Church, 105-111.
Mirfield, Sir Wm., 256.
Misricords of Malton, 133.
Monasteries become corrupt, 80.
Monasteries suppressed, 85.
Monasteries visited, 84.
Monkish system condemned, 84.
Monkish system, its extravagance, 85.

Monks, Diversions of, 186.
Monks, vagabond, to be arrested, 190,
Montabum, Roger de, 21.
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 183.
Montagu, Marquis, 244, 249.
Monte Begun, Roger de, 126.
Monteford, Simon de, 179.
Montgomery, Hugh, 19.
Morcar, Earl, 7.
Moreby, 201.
Moreton, Roger, 128.
Morton, Robert de, 182.
Morton, Wm., Earl of, 115.
Morville, Hugh de, 203, 206.
Mosborough, Earthworks at, 8.
Mosele, Richard, Warden of Sandal, 176.
Moulins, William de, 19.
Mountegrace Priory, 254, 255.
Mowbray, Roger, 118.
Mowbray, Thomas, Earl Marshal, 172, 247.
Mowbray, Wm., dispute as to his barony, 118.
Mulcaster, Walter de, 117.
Multon, Ellen, 227.
Murdac, Ralph, 21.
Muscamp, Robt. de, 211.
Muscamp, Isabella, 211.
Musleye, Richard de, parson of Fryston, 230.
Myddelton Hall, 54.

Nailer, Richard the, a miner, 269.
Nairford, Adam de, 190.
Nairford, Hugh de, 190.
Nappey, 252.
National cost of the monkish system 85.
Nayler, James, in the pillory, 195.
Neirford, Maud de, mistress of Earl Warren, 177.
Nelson, John, shot while fetching ale, 234.
Nesfield, 49.
Nessebit, John de, 264.
Netilton, Wm., 188, 189.
Nettleton, Thomas, 108.
Neufchatel, seat of the Buslis, 19.
Neusom, Bridge of, 119.
Neusom, John de, 225.
Neusom, Wm., 225.
Neville, Alexandra de, 105, 106.
Neville, Annie, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, 250.
Neville, Galfrid, 127, 213, 227, 237.
Neville, George, Abp. of York, 244, 248.
Neville, Henry, 130, 131, 187.
Neville, Hugh de, 119, 206, 207.
Neville, Isabel, 249.
Neville, John de, 105, 244, 249.
Neville, Margaret, 105, 106.
Neville, Ralph, 228, 243, 244, 246, 247.
Neville, Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, 122, 129.
Neville, Richard, 244.
Neville, Robert de, 208, 237, 243, 244, 245, 246.
Neville, Sir John, 189, 218.
Neville, Stephen, 243.
Neville's Cross, 246.
Newall, 45, 48.
Newark, 24.
Newby, 3.
New Park, Wakefield, 177.
New Temple, London, 215.
Newton, Wold, 39.
Newburgh, Wm., historian, 101, 131, 202.
Newcastle, Keep of, 200.
Newcastle, Rebels executed at, 250.
Neweland, Robert, 80.
Newton, 125, 126, 129.
Newton, Adam, 126.
Newton, Alice, 126.
Newton, John, 126.
Newton, Ralph de, 126.
Newton, Thomas, 126.
Nidd, 223.
Nidderdale, 44.
Nordrane, 126.
Norman, Anthony, 183.
Norman Engineers, their treatment of English earthworks, 13, 16.
Norman, John, priest, 96.
Norman, Juliana, 96.
Norman, Richard, 96.
Normans gain lands by their marriages, 200.
Normanton, Henry de, Sub-sheriff, 180.
Normanville, Roger, 226.
Norsemen, last descent at Scarbro', 102.
Norse names extirpated, 200.
Norse settlements, 92.
Northampton, 209.
Northallerton, 249.
Northolme, 196.
Northorpe, 110.
Northowram, 258.
Northowram, Coal mines in, 269, 271.
Northumberland, Earl of, 105.
Northumberland, a fief of the Scottish King, 23.
Northumberland, John Neville, Earl of, 249.

Northumbrian, Witan at Tanshelf, 26.
North Yorkshire, 5.
Norwich, Sir John, 96.
Nostel Priory. 28.
Nostel Priory, Knaresburgh Church given to, 212.
Nostel, place-name, 45.
Nottingham, 206. 209, 211.
Nottingham Castle, 17, 20, 21.
Nottingham gaol, 201.
Nottingham, gaol delivery, 191.
Nottingham, Sheriff of, 191.
Nottinghamshire, 178.
Nunnington, 119, 120.

Officials, their acts scandalous, 208.
Offnans, 119.
Okeden, 225.
Olicana, 41, 56.
Oly, John de, 126.
Ord, *History of Cleveland*, 135.
Ordinations, Hasty, 82.
Ordsal, 45, 48, 201.
Oreston, John de, hanged, 191.
Orm, Gamal's son, 38.
Orme, of Kildale, 40.
Ornsby, Canon, on Diocesan History of York, 77.
Osgodcros, 188.
Ostrefield, 179.
Oswald's Cross, Wapentake of, 26.
Oswin, King, killed at Gilling, 72.
Othlyn, Plain of, a point in Brunanburgh, 72.
Otho, Emperor of Germany, 74.
Otter, Thomas, 253.
Ouse, free of tolls, 219.
Ouston, 188.
Oven, common, of Leeds, 188.
Oxford, Turbulent scholars of, 193.

Padeside, 214.
Paen, Ralph, 119.
Paen, Columba, his wife, 119.
Paganel, Maurice, 228.
Pampeluna, Gilon de, 210.
Pannal, 45, 48.
Parishes, Scheme for dividing the large, 86.
Parks, Trespassers in, 190.
Parks of Knaresborough, 209, 210, 225.
Parks of Knaresborough granted to Robt. de Crepping, 207.
Parlington, a clan-station, 47.
Parsy, John, 105.
Partition of Middleham lands, 243, 245.
Pateley Bridge, 49.
Pateshal, Simon de, 119, 125, 126, 205.
Patronymics, how changed, 200.
Paulinus, Bishop, 10, 24.
Paulinus flees from York, 77.
Pavagium for Pomfret, 227.
Payn, Henry, 227.
Paynell, Hugh, hanged, 191.
Peacock of the North, 244, 246.
Peak, Castle of, 17, 20.
Peel, Frank, on a relic of the Knights Hospitallers, 256-8.
Pembroke, Walter, Earl of, 214.
Penbroke, Serlo de, 199.
Penhill, 255.
Pennington, Wm., executed, 250.
Percehay, Agnes. 133.
Percehay, Walter, 119, 133.
Percy, Anastasia, 245.
Percy Family of Scarbro', 104, 105.
Percy, Henry, 220.
Percy, Henry, Lord, 104.
Percy, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, 247, 248.
Percy, Robert de, 213.
Percy, Wm., Lord of Dighton, 92.
Percy, Wm. de, 125, 211.
Percy, Wm., Lord, 245.
Pereson, John, yeoman, 96.
Pereson, Robert, priest, 96.
Pereson, Thomas, sub-dean of York, 96.
Perpunt, Henry de, 219.
Petilius Cerealis, Proprætor, 42.
Peyvre, Paulin, 215.
Phases of Old Parish Life, 194-8.
Philippa, Queen, 18.
Philippopolis, John, Bp., consecrates Cowthorpe Church, 97.
Pichard, Alan, a cheating clothmaker, 262.
Pickering, 125, 129, 230, 231.
Pickering Castle, 9; Entrenchments at, 10, 12, 16.
Pigs at pannage to be sufficiently rung, 192.
Pilkington, Sir John, 182.
Pilkington, Joan, his widow, 182.
Pillory, 194.
Pillory at Knaresburgh, 202.
Pitfall mills in Leeds, 263.
Place names in "Al", 45.
Place-names connected with water,
Plague of 1249, 82; in Mirfield, 109, 110.
Plumpton, 212.
Plumpton, Arms of, 99,
Plumpton, Juliana, 212.
Plumpton, Nigel de, 92, 93, 206, 207, 212.

Plumpton, Peter de, 212.
Plumpton, Robert de, 49, 93, 95, 215; Arms of, 100.
Plumpton, Serlo de, 95; Walter, his son, 95.
Pocklington, 218.
Poictou, 127.
Pole, De la, 94.
Pole, Edward, 96.
Pole, Michael, 96.
Pole, Richard de la, 264.
Pole, Sir Wm. de la, 96; Katherine, his wife, 96.
Policemen introduced, 196
Pollington, a clan-station, 47, 57.
Pomfret, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193, 223, 230, 233, 234, 247, 253.
Pomfret cakes, 226.
Pomfret, Castle of, 25-33.
Pomfret, Chapel of St. Clement, 28, 227.
Pomfret, Chapel of St. Ellen, 227.
Pomfret, dauntless courage of the inhabitants, 228.
Pomfret, Edw. IV. at, 250.
Pomfret, King John at, 27.
Pomfret Monastery, 27, 28.
Pomfret, Nobles executed at, after Wakefield battle, 233.
Pomfret, Norman works at, 31, 32.
Pomfret, of Saxo-Danish origin, 228.
Pomfret, Priory of, 227.
Pomfret, place-name, 27, 28, 226.
Pomfret, Sensational associations of, 228.
Pope Nicholas's Taxation, 120.
Popular power, 204.
Porchester, 15.
Poreton, 226.
Porter, John, priest of Keldholm, 120.
Portsmouth, 204.
Poterne, James de, 126.
Pottery in ancient times, 2.
Poulton, Mr. E. B., on Caves, 35, 36, 37.
Præmunire, Statute of, 82.
Pratellis, Peter de, 119.
Preston, 230.
Priestman, Roger, 181.
Prioresses of Keldholm, 121.
Prison of Scarbro', 105.
Provisions of Knaresburgh Castle, 208, 209.
Provisors, Statute of, 82.
Pudsey, Henry, 98, 252.
Pundeburg, 26, 72, 116, 202, 203.
Purveyors, their extortions, 192.
Puture, a forest custom, 224.
Pykering, Joan, a nun of Rosedale, 121, 127.
Quarrells sent from Knaresborough, 204.
Quay of Scarbro', 105.
Quency, Roger de, 126.
Quo Warranto Commissioners, 119, 217.

Racine, Roger, 126.
Radale, 252.
Rafenys-broke-loyne, 106, 107.
Rafnesfeld, John de, 181.
Ragnar Lothbrog, a destructive Dane, 259.
Ramesdale, 127.
Ramsden, Wm., 107.
Ralph of Engleby, 119.
Ralph, son of Ribald, 235.
Rangers appointed by the King, 219.
Rangers of the forest, 219.
Rannulf, 119.
Ranulf de Middleham, 190.
Rasgate, La, 182.
Raskall, 253.
Raskell, 131.
Raudon, 214.
Raunde, 252.
Ravensburgh, 76.
Ravenser, a wool and cloth port, 263, 264.
Ravensthorpe, 35, 95.
Ravenswick wood, 123.
Rawtenstall, 48.
Read, Edward, 196.
Red Bear Inn, Leeds, 194.
Redcar, 134.
Redeman, Norman de, 119.
Rees, Griffin ap, 230
Reformation, 84.
Revenues of the smaller monasteries, 84.
Revolt of the Scropes, 247.
Reygate, Castle of, 177.
Rhodes of Northorpe, 110.
Ribald, son of Alan Fergaunt, 235.
Ribald, Beatrice, his wife, 235.
Ribblesdale mounds, 10.
Ribchester, 76.
Ribston, 207, 212, 220
Ribston, Preceptory of, 92.
Richard, King of Alimann, obtains Knaresburgh, 215.
Richard, King of the Romans, 18.
Richard, Duke of Gloucester, marries Anne Neville, 250.
Richard much at Middleham, 251.
Richard confirms Henry's charter to Knaresburgh, 202.
Richard I., 103, 116, 123.
Richard I., treachery of his brother John, 19, 20.
Richard I. visits Sherwood Forest, 21.

Richard I. at the siege of Tickhill, 21.
Richard II. at Pomfret, 30, 31, 32.
Richard II., Death of, 231.
Richard III. at Middleham, 241, 243.
Richard, son of King John, 187.
Richardson, Dr., of Bierley Hall, 113.
Richardson, Wm., 210.
Ricnmond, 72, 206, 208, 210, 217, 235, 236.
Richmond, Archdeacon of, 217.
Richmond, Earl of, 209, 210.
Richmond, Honour of, 18, 190, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256.
Richmond, non-destruction of Castle, 242.
Richmondshire given to Simon de Insula, 236; to Peter de Savoy, 243.
Rievaulx, 104.
Rigton, 219.
Ring Stones Hill, Encampment at, 75.
Ripace, Alice, 227.
Riperiis, Robert de, 180.
Ripley, Bernard de, 208.
Ripon, 48.
Ripon, Margaret, 128.
Ripon Minster. Early treasures of, 78.
Rippinghall, Alice de, 127.
Riscough in Melsanby, 191.
Rither, Wm., 94.
Rivall, Peter de, 124, 216, 217.
Roads, State of, 216.
Roald, son of Alan, 236.
Robert of the Hospital, 130.
Robin Hood, 108.
Robinson, Christ., Esq., 123.
Robinson, Vicar of Leeds, 85.
Robinson, Walter, 227.
Roche Abbey, Earthworks at, 8.
Roche, Grange of, at Amthorpe, Unlawful arrest at, 180.
Rochester, 239, 241.
Rockingham, Lord, Coming of age, 184.
Rodlande in Thornes, 177.
Rofham, Alexander de, 207.
Rogeberg, 120.
Roger, the King's Son, 179.
Roger, son of Thomas, 178.
Roger, Abp. of York, 102, 236.
Rokeby, Sir Thos., Sheriff, 247, 248.
Roman Encampment at Grassington, 42.
Roman Tablet found at Ilkley, 65.
Romans, Imperfect colonisation of, 57.
Romanus, John, 214.
Romanus, Walter, 119.
Romilli, Cecilia de, 111, 112.
Roodesmoore, Mining in, 272.
Rooke, William, Mayor of Leeds, a clothmaker, 263.
Roos, Lord, executed, 250.
Roos, Thomas, of Kendal 94, 96.
Roos, Thomas, of Kendal, Arms of, 99.
Rooston, Henry, 264.
Ros of Ingmanthorpe, 92, 96.
Ros, John de, 127.
Ros, Maria de, 127.
Ros, Robert de, 215.
Rosedale and Ferry Hill Iron Company, 129.
Rosedale Priory, 123-129.
Rosedale, number of nuns, 128.
Rosedale, nuns dispersed, 127.
Rosedale, Prioresses of, 127.
Roselle, John, executed, 250.
Roshirst, 223.
Ross, Anthony de, 96.
Ross, Robert de, 192.
Rossington, a clan-station, 48.
Rotherham, 180, 181.
Rotherham, Earthworks at, 11, 48.
Rothferlington, 207.
Rothwell, 188, 212.
Rothwell, Mines in, 272.
Rothwell Haigh, 185, 193.
Roucliff, John, 96.
Roucliff, Robert, 96.
Roucliff, Roger, 96.
Roucliff, Thomas, 96.
Roucliff, William, 96.
Roucliffe, Arms of, 98, 99.
Roucliffe, Brian, 95, 96, 97.
Roucliffe, Guy, 95, 98.
Roucliffe, Jennet, 96.
Roucliffe, Joan, 95, 96, 98.
Roucliffe, Tomb of, 98.
Rouen, Abp. of, 20.
Roukesburgh, Sir Richard, 94, 95.
Roundhay, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189.
Roundhay Park, King John at, 185-189.
Rous, Thomas le, 220, 225.
Routhecliffe, 220.
Rowal, 45, 47, 57.
Rowson, Thomas, 227.
Royal Festivities, 186, 187.
Rubrok, Terrie de, 127.
Rudston, 39, 40.
Rugemont, 225.
Runde Heia, 185.
Runes on Crosses, 54.
Rusendale, ancient form of name, 123.
Russedale, Wm. de, 124,
Russedale, Turgis de, 124.
Russell, Thomas, 219.
Rydal deanery, 125.

Ryllyngton, Robert, 1.

Salavagus, a wandering monk-craftsman, 259.
Salisbury, Alice, Countess of, 252.
Salisbury, Archdeacon of, 237.
Salisbury, Earl of, 22.
Salisbury, Richard Neville, Earl of, 244, 248.
Saltburn, 134.
Saltenstall, 48.
Salvan, Gerard, 249.
Samford, Agnes, 211.
Samford, Hugh de, 211.
Samford, Robin de, 186, 210, 211.
Sampson, John, 219.
Sandal, 45, 47, 48, 230, 253.
Sandal, Castle of, 178.
Sandal, Park of, 178.
Sandford, co. Devon, 16, 19.
Sandford Family, 121.
Sandiacre, Galfrid de, 181.
Sapy, Robert, 223.
Sarum, Wm., Earl of, 209, 211.
Sauceye, Wm. de, 207.
Sauleia, Abbot of, 203.
Saverby, Walter de, 117.
Savile, Alice, marries W. Lister, 268.
Savile, Cuthbert, 107.
Savile, Family of, 178.
Savile, Thomas, 107, 108.
Savoy, Earl of, 125.
Savoy, Peter, 131, 190, 243.
Saxifield, 75.
Saxon Architecture, Laughton Church, 8.
Saxon Architecture, Wirksworth Church, 55.
Saxon Camp at Cottingham, bracelets found there, 69.
Saxton, Peter, Vicar of Leeds, 86.
Sayvile, Sir John, 178.
Scalepark, 42, 252.
Scallebi, 103.
Scamridge, Entrenchments, 4.
Scarborough, Stone house at, 81.
Scarbro', Burgesses of, 103.
Scarbro', King John at, 124.
Scarburgh, 4, 220, 241.
Scarburgh, Church of St. Mary, 101-105.
Scarburgh, Convent of Friar Preachers in, 79.
Scarburgh petitions for a trone for weighing wool, 264.
Scardeburgh, Americ de, 127.
Scardeburgh, Matilda, 127.
Scarlet a favourite colour, 266.
Scholars of Oxford, Violence of, 193.
Scholes, 188.
Scots delegates at Knaresborough, 223.
Scots King at Brunanburgh, 69.
Scots King at Clipston, 23.
Scott, Wm., 256.
Scriven, 223.
Scriven, Agnes, 226.
Scriven, Henry, 219, 226.
Scrope, Archbishop, betrayed, 247.
Scrope, Emanuel, Lord, 255, 256.
Scrope, Geoffrey le, 246.
Scrope of Masham, 245, 247.
Scrope, Philip, 126.
Scrope, Richard, Archbishop, 82.
Scrope's Rebellion, 96.
Seacroft, 188, 189.
Seamer, 4.
Seaton, Wm., priest, 96.
Selby, Abbot of, a disgraceful character, 80, 177.
Selby, Thomas, 206.
Selby, William, 206.
Semer, Adam de, 264.
Sempringham, 130; Malton one of the finest houses of, 134.
Sendale, John, Canon, 96.
Seneschals of Knaresburgh, 219.
Setterington, 134.
Setton, 219.
Seward, Anna, 181.
Sewerby, Elizabeth, her goods, 267.
Shadwell, 188, 189, 212.
Shaw, Christopher, 108.
Shaw, Geo., 108.
Sheep-scoring Numerals, Celtic, 44.
Sheffield, 16, 48, 179.
Sheffield Castle crenellated, 179.
Shelf, Mining in, 272.
Shelfield, Ancient encampment at, 75.
Sherburn, 204.
Sherburn, Cloth-makers in, 262.
Sheriffs, Extortions of, 208.
Sheriff-Hutton descends to Anne Neville, 250.
Sheriff-Hutton Park enclosed, 246, 253.
Sherwood, 182.
Shibden, Coal mines in, 269.
Shibden, John, leases coal, 270.
Shipton Moor, Encampment of rebels on, 247.
Shires, John de, 180.
Shrewsbury, Hugh Montgomery, Earl of, 19.
Sicklinghall, 45, 47, 48.
Siddal, 45, 48.
Sihtric, grandson of Ragnar Lodbrog, 73.
Silchestone, 26.
Silton, John, priest, 96.
Simnel's Rebellion, 253.

Singin, a leader at Brunanburgh, 74.
Singing at work, a custom of cloth-workers, 268.
Siward, 16.
Skargill, Wm., 177.
Skayf, Henry, 181.
Skellow, 46, 48.
Skelton, 125, 127.
Skene, Mr., on Brunanburgh, 71, 72.
Skidby, 67.
Skinling, Thos., 219.
Skipse, 214.
Skipton, 114, 200, 213, 214, 218, 222, 230.
Slingsby, 11.
Slingesby, Agnes, 226.
Slingesby, Joan, 226.
Slingsby, Mr. F. E., of Farnhill, 114.
Slingesby, Wm., 220, 225, 226.
Smalesikesheued, 125.
Smaller monasteries suppressed, 84, 85.
Smeathall, 45, 47.
Smithson, Major, 256.
Snitton, 219.
Snorre's Castle, 26.
Snydale, 45, 47, 48.
Social Punishments, 194.
Society and Crime, 189-93.
Somerset, Duke of, rebels at Middleham, 249, 250.
Somerville, Roger de, 178.
Somerville, Matilda, his widow, 178.
Somerwater, 253.
Somery, John de, 230.
Sonnescogh, Park of, 252, 253, 255.
Soothill, Elizabeth, 108.
Soothill, John, does service for lands, 229.
Soothill, Thomas, 108.
Southstrindebroc, 177.
Southwell, 23.
Southwell Minster, 24.
Southwell Palace, 24.
Sowerby, 203.
Spaunton Moor, 118.
Spilar, Wm., executed, 250.
Spofforth, 216, 220.
Spot, Wulfric, 7, 8.
Sprotton, John de, 95.
St. George, Alan de, Constable of Knaresborough, 204, 206.
St. John of Beverley buried at Driffield, 74.
St. Lawrence of Rosedale, 125.
St. Leonard's Hospital, York, 102.
St. Mary's Abbey, York, 116, 210.
St. Michael, patron of Crusaders, 95.
St. Omer, Cloth-making at, 264.
St. Oswald, Prior of, Warden of Pomfret, 227.
St. Robert of Knaresburgh, 210, 216, 217.
Stafford, 183, 230.
Stainburgh, 182.
Stainburn, 219.
Staincliffe, Wapentake of, 218.
Staingartes, 219.
Stainmore, Honor of, 180.
Stalling, Walter, hanged, 191.
Stamford, Robbery of merchants going to, 23.
Stammel, a coarse cloth, 266, 267.
Stancil, 45, 48.
Standard, Battle of the, 115.
Standish, Arms of, 99.
Stanetone, 16.
Stanhope, Ald. Henry, of Leeds, 109.
Stanley, Agnes de, 215.
Stanley, Alan de, 215.
Stanley, Manor of, 177.
Stanley, Sir George, 192.
Stanley, Sir Wm., 49.
Stanningley, a clan-station, 47, 48.
Stansfeld, John, son of Elias, 181.
Stansfeld, Ralph, 257.
Stanth'Ker, Agnes de, hanged, 191.
Stapelton Family, 121.
Stapleton, Milo, 219.
Stapleton, Nicholas, 237.
Stapleton, Wm., 229.
Staveley, 208.
Staveley, Adam, 208, 211.
Staveley, Adam, sub-custos of Knaresborough, 213.
Staveley, Alice, 211.
Stayncross, 188.
Steelyard, Merchants of, 264.
Stephen, 115.
Stephen, Earl, 235.
Steveton, Sir Robert, Tomb of, 112.
Stivelington, 116.
Stockel, Walter de, 212, 215.
Stockeld, Richard de, 95.
Stocks, 195.
Stodledge, Thomas, 80.
Stokesley, Robert, 225.
Stores of Knaresborough Castle, 214, 220.
Storth, Alan de, 182.
Stowe's Annals, 233, 250.
Stra John, of Handsworth, a miner, 269.
Strange, Lord le, 192.
Street, Mr. G. E., 113.
Streethagh, 177.
Stuteville, 19-20.
Stuteville, Bernard, 203.
Stuteville, Bertha, 207.

Stuteville, Eustace, 116, 124, 125, 126, 202, 211.
Stuteville, Eustace, his forges, 129.
Stuteville, Helewisia, 115, 203.
Stuteville, Johanna, 124.
Stuteville, Nicholaa, 125, 211.
Stuteville, Nicholas, 116, 117, 123, 124, 126.
Stuteville, Nicholas de, 205.
Stuteville, Robt., 80, 115, 116, 118, 123, 125, 126, 202.
Stuteville, Wm., Constable of Knaresborough, 200-203.
Stuteville, Wm., made Sheriff of Yorkshire, 123-126.
Stuteville, Wm. de, 116, 117, 118, 119, 124, 125, 191, 202, 205, 206, 207, 208.
Suffolk, De la Poles, Earls of, 94.
Sumery, Nichola, 245.
Sumery, Roger, 245.
Sun dial, Kirkdale, 38; Edston, 38.
Surdeval, Robert de, 119.
Sutton, 131, 213, 253.
Swaledale, 44, 252.
Swaneby, Abbey founded at, then removed to Coverham, 237.
Swaneby, Bernard, of Ripon, a cheating clothmaker, 262.
Sweine, Adam Fitz, 26.
Swetton, Wm. de, 189.
Swinstey, 208.
Swillington, a clan-station, 47.
Swynesheued, Adam de, 218.
Swynnington Regis, 129.
Sykelinghall, Bro. Robt. of the Temple, 215.
Synigthwaite, 127.
Syvene, 119, 125.
Sywerdherges, pasture, 210.

Tabarer, Wm., founds a hospital in Pomfret, 230.
Tadcaster, 100.
Tadcaster, Advowson of the Church of,
Tait, Mr. Lawson, 3, 203.
Tammin, Tammy, a coarse cloth, 267.
Tamworth, 14.
Tanbark granted to Rosedale, 126.
Taney, Luke de, 219.
Tanner of Tamworth, 216.
Tanshelf, 26, 188; or Tateshall, a place-name, 46, 47.
Tatershall Joan, 245.
Tatershall, Robert, 190, 236, 245.
Taverner, Hugh, 264.
Taverner, Wm., 227.
Taylbois, Agatha, 235.
Taylbois, Ralph, 235, 246.
Taylor, bellfounder, 110.
Tempest, Arms of, 99.
Tempest, Sir Nicholas, joins Scrope's revolt, 248.
Templars, 200, 203, 220.
Templars allowed to sell their wool beyond seas, 263.
Temple, Robert of the, 130.
Tenchebrai, Battle of, 115, 118.
Tenters used in the early cloth trade, 262.
Tete d'Ane, Ralph, 19.
Teynturer, a dyer, hence a patronymic, 266.
Thanage after the Conquest, 201.
Theodmarsh, Edmund, 225.
Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, 78.
Thickerdales at Brough, 68.
Thickheued Priory, 127.
Thompson, Mr., on Brunanburgh, 69.
Thoraldby, 245.
Thoresby, Archbishop, 82.
Thorfer, 200.
Thorne, 15.
Thorne, *Camera* in, 179.
Thorne, Manor of, 177, 179.
Thorner, 188, 189.
Thornes, Beskrode in, 177.
Thornes, Graveship, 177.
Thornes, Rodlande in, 177.
Thornhill Lees, 108.
Thornthwaite, 214.
Thornton, 129, 252.
Thornton, Steward, 42.
Thorolf, 69. 70, 73, 74.
Thoroughgood, John, 253.
Thorp, Dorothy, 109; Richard, 109.
Thorpe, 39, 217.
Thorpe-Salvin, 7.
Thorpenhow, 129.
Thundercliff, 16.
Thurgarland, Geo., 108; Ann, 108.
Thurgarland, Margaret, 108.
Thurs cross, 223.
Thursdai-market in York, 80.
Thursden, Vale of, Lancs., 75.
Thurston, 178.
Thweng, Katherine de, 128.
Tickhill, 181, 203, 212, 213.
Tickhill, the place-name, 16.
Tickhill, Camp and Castle, 13-18; Siege of, 19-23.
Tickhill Castle besieged by Thomas of Lancaster, 18.
Tickhill Castle besieged by King John, 20-23.
Tickhill, Chapel of St. Nicholas, 17, 18.

Tickhill, Chapelry of, 103.
Tickhill, Earthworks at, 7, 8, 12, 16.
Tickhill granted to Prince Edward, 17.
Tickhill, Honour of, 16, 17, 18.
Tickhill, King John at, 17.
Tickhill, Maud the Empress lives at, 7.
Timber, Sales of, 219.
Timble, 208, 219, 223.
Tinctor, a dyer, hence a patronymic, 266.
Tingley, 257.
Tinsley, 181.
Tithes in the Forest, Value of, 214.
Tocke, of Pykering, 126.
Todd, C. S., F.S.A., on Brunanburgh, 65-70.
Todwick, Earthworks at, 8.
Toftes, Le, York, 81.
Tolls, Levy of, 179.
Tolvestan, Agnes de, 201.
Tolvestan, Thurstan de, 201.
Tomlinson, Mr. G. W., 66.
Tonsburg, 202.
Torenton, 117, 120.
Torp, Simon de, 124.
Torpenhow Church, 125, 126, 127.
Tosti, Earl, 38.
Tourleymosse in Sourebishire, 177.
Towers, Wm., 253.
Tracy, Henry de, 187.
Trading, Early, in cloth, 262.
Trajan, 36, 50.
Tranetherne, 119, 120.
Transversus, Wm. 28.
Trespassers in Vert and Venison, 217, 218.
Trumpour, John le, 230.
Tuggehale, 131.
Tuit, Hngh le, 117.
Tumbrel, Punishment of, 179, 202.
Tumuli at Kirby Moorside, 118.
Tunbridge, 14.
Tunnock, Richard, 81, 82.
Tunstal, Wm., 105.
Turketul at Brunanburgh, 74.
Turnham, Robert, 125, 205.
Turribus, Gilbert de, 102.
Tusser, William, 271.
Tutebury, 230.
Tyersall, 45, 47.
Tyler, Sir Wm., Kt., 253.

Uckeman, 213.
Uctred, of Burton, 212.
Ugga, of Burton, 212.
Ughtred, Arms of, 99.
Ughtred, Thomas, 80.
Ughtred, Thomas de, warden of Pickering, 230.
Ulage, Thomas, 252.
Ulchel, of Mexborough, 12.
Ulf, of Middleton, 127; Alan, of Middleton, 127.
Ulfac, of Mexborough, 12.
Ulric, of Abbeton, 119.
Undercroft, 119.
Underheath, Heton, 119.
Upholsterers prohibited the use of flocks, 265.
Ursula, St., of Cowthorpe, 97.
Useburn, Kirkeby, 203, 208.
Uthdred, Robt., son of, 201.

Vagabond monks to be arrested, 190.
Val, De la, Hugh, 28.
Valencia, Sybil, 126.
Valencia, Wm. de, 214.
Valoines, Wm. de, 212.
Valoynes, Theobald, 237.
Vaus, Wm. de, 220.
Vavasour, Richard, priest, 106.
Venality of officials, 180, 181, 189.
Ver, Baldwin de, 124.
Verdoun, John de, 94.
Vergil, Polydore, on death of Ric. II., 233.
Vesci, Agnes, 202.
Vesci, Eustace, 125, 205, 202, 211.
Vesci, Ivo, 129.
Vesci, John de, 129.
Vesci, Lady Agnes, 129, 130, 131.
Vesci, Lord John, 129.
Vesci, Warin, 130.
Vesci, William de, 117, 129, 130, 202.
Vesci, Burga, his wife, 117, 130.
Vetripont, Idonea de, 179, 180.
Vetripont, Isabel de, 180.
Viccarisclose in Pomfret, 192.
Villeret, Goulfier de, 19.
Vinheidi, Vinnskodi, points in the field of Brunanburgh, 72.
Vipont, Robert de, 17, 19.
Vipont, Idonea, his wife, 17, 19.

Wake, Baldwin, 126, 219.
Wake, Guy, 124.
Wake, Hugh, 124, 125; Isabel, 125.
Wake, Joan, 119, 124, 125.
Wake, John, 126; Sir Baldwin, 126.
Wake, of Lyddel, 115.
Wake, Thomas, 125, 126, 127.
Wakes, Patrons of Rosedale Priory, 125.
Wakefield, 179, 180, 194, 253.
Wakefield, Chantry of All Saints, 177.
Wakefield, Chantry of Our Lady, 177.
Wakefield Court Rolls, 269.

Wakefield, Hedlaysyk in, 177.
Wakefield, Manor of, 179.
Wakefield, Outwood, 178.
Wakefield Park, Mines of, 272.
Wakefield, Town improvements of, 177.
Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie, on Scarbro' Church, 103.
Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie, M.A., on Malton Priory, 132.
Waldbi, 200.
Waleis, Henry le, 201.
Waleran, of Middleham, 237.
Walesgrave, 103, 105.
Walis, 7.
Walkington, a clan-station, 48.
Walkyngham, Adam, 93, 95.
Walkyngham, Alan, 93, 95, 119.
Walkyngham, Agnes, 93.
Walkyngham, Elizabeth, 96.
Walkyngham, Joan de, 95, 96.
Walkyngham, John de, 93, 95, 96.
Walkyngham, Thomas de, 94.
Wall, Mr., Ilkley, 65.
Waller's Brasses, 97.
Walmsley, Thomas, 99.
Walo, Wm., son of, 130.
Walplo, 207.
Walter, Hubert, 237.
Walter, Roger, janitor of King Henry, executed, 250.
Wambewellewode, Robert de, 179.
Wandesford Family, 121, 122.
Wanneles, Park of, 252, 255.
Wantley, Dragon of, 183.
Warcock Hill, 76.
Warde, of Topcliffe, executed, 250.
Wardell's Notes of Ilkley, 66.
Wardens of the King's Forests, 218.
Warmfield, 188.
Warnutts at Brough, 69.
Warr, Robert de la, 20.
Warren, Earl, 22.
Warren, Earl of, 179, 181.
Warren, Earl John, 179.
Warren, Earl William, 179.
Warren, Matilda, Countess of, 179.
Warren, John de, 177, 178, 179.
Warren, Thomas, 177.
Warren, William, 179.
Warren, Matilda, his Countess, 179.
Warsill, 45. 48.
Warwick, Earl, grandeur of his life, 250.
Warwick, Richard, Earl of, confines Edward IV. at Middleham, 244, 248, 249.
Waterton of Methley, 191.
Wath, 194.
Watling Street, a general designation, 72.
Watton Priory, 134.
Watton, Richard, Prior of, 134.
Waudby Wood, 69.
Wauton, John, 225.
Wauton, Robert, 105.
Wawan, John, 105.
Wawne Ferry, 67, 68.
Waylford, Adam de, 191.
Weapons, Ancient, 3, 36.
Weaverthorpe, 2.
Weig, Anglo-Saxon, a way, 67.
Weighton, Little, 67, 70, 71.
Weldale, 47.
Welle, 245.
Welle, Galfrid, parson of Wensley, 236.
Welle, Hugo de, 126.
Wells, Archdeacon of, 116.
Wendel Hill, an Entrenchment at Barwick, 9, 10.
Wendeval, William de, 21.
Wensley, a poor town, 255.
Wensleydale, 190, 235.
Wensleydale, Forest of, 236, 237, 243, 251, 252, 255.
Wensleydale, Revolt in, 236.
Wentworth, Barbara, 103.
Wentworth, Oliver, executed, 250.
Wentworth, Roger, 183.
Wentworth, Sir Philip, executed, 250.
Wentworth, Sir Thomas, 181, 255.
Wentworth-Woodhouse, Park of, 178-184.
Weondune, site of Brunanburgh, 66, 72.
Werrebi, Geffrey, 92.
Werstan, bp. of Sherborne, 74, 75.
West, Wm., fined for coal-poaching, 270.
West park, 252, 255.
Westanwoods at Brough, 68.
Westhall, co. Oxon, 222.
Westmoreland, 203.
Westmoreland, Ralph Neville, Earl of, 122, 244, 246, 247.
Westtout, 219.
Wetherby, 248.
Wetherby stocks, 197.
Whalley Abbey, 10.
Whalley, James, 178.
Whalley, Rauf, 178.
Wharfedale, Forest of, disafforested, 207.
Wharnecliffe Chace, 178, 182, 183.
Wheatley, Richard, 108.
Wheater, W., on place-names, in Al, 45-48.
Wheater, W., on Ilkley and Crowle Crosses, 56-61.

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Wheater, W., on Guisbro' Priory,
Wheater, W., on Arthington Priory,
Wheater, W., on Knaresborough Castle and Forest,
Wheater, W., on Middleham Castle,
Whipping Post, 194.
Whitby, a wool-port, 264.
White, a bleacher, hence a patronymic, 266.
Whyteby, Isabella, 127.
Wiall, Richard de, 210.
Wicker, The, Sheffield, 16.
Wickwaine, Abp., a reformer of the Monasteries, 80.
Wiggington, Wm. de, priest, 96.
Wighill, 100.
Wigmore, Castle of, 248.
Wigton, Gilbert, 223.
Wilbore, James, 256.
Wilbore, Henry, 256.
Wildbru, Wm., 126.
Wilfrid, St., of Ripon, 77.
Wilkinson, Robt., of Halifax, granted Kildwick, 112.
Wilkinson, T. T., on Brunanburgh, 75.
William, Archbishop of York, 82.
William the Lion, King of Scots, 129.
William, son of Ingald, 119.
William, son of the presbyter, 119.
William, son of Ralph of Engleby, 119.
William, Havice, his wife, 119.
Willing, Wm., priest, 106.
Wilton, Laurence de, 80.
Winchester, Bishop of, 204.
Winchester, Wolsey, Bp. of, 84.
Wincobank, Earthworks at. 12.
Windsor, Siege of, 19, 20.
Wine, King's, to be sold, 209.
Wingerworth, Leticia de, hanged, 191.
Winmoor, 185.
Winteringham, Church of St. Peter of, 130.
Winteringham, John, Prior of Malton, 134.
Wirksworth Church, Saxon remains, 55.
Withins, in Sourebishire, 177.
Witton, East and West, 190, 236.
Witty, Mr. E., on Brunanburgh, 68.
Wodeham, Simon, 230.
Wodekirke, 178.
Wolds, Yorkshire, Barrows on, 1-3.
Wolds, Yorkshire, Entrenchments, 4.
Wolds, Yorkshire, Gipsy Springs, 39.
Wolsey, Card, never at York, 84.
Wolves common, 211.
Women whipped, 194.
Wood, General, owns Middleham, 244.
Wood, Walter del, 208.
Woodchopper, Ralph Taylbois, surname of, 235.
Woodhall, Park of, 251, 252.
Woodkirk, 257.
Woodsetts, 7.
Wool, the "Sovereigne Tresor" of the kingdom, 265.
Wooldale, 45, 48.
Woollen in ancient graves, 2.
Worcester, Philip de, 21.
Worcester, Ralph de, 21.
Worksop, Scots King at, 23.
Worrall, 45, 48.
Worsley, John, 97.
Worsthorn, Werstan's Hurne, 75.
Wortley, 182.
Wortley, Nicholas de, 102.
Wortley, Sir Thomas, 182, 183.
Wortley, Joan, his wife, 182.
Wortley, Sir Thos., 253.
Wraith, Henry, 110.
Wrelton, a lady of, spins her own wedding dress, 259.
Wright, Peter, 193.
Wrongful imprisonment, 180.
Wulfstan, Abp., gives fealty to Eadred, 26.
Wykham, 127.
Wyllyam of Cloudeslee, 217.
Wynttewortbewodehus, Wm. de.
Wysham, John de, 222, 223, 225.
Wyskarderode, Robert, 179.

Yale, 230.
Yawdwath, 122.
Yeland, John de, 119.
Yeoman, 5.
Yeomen of the Forest, 215.
Yerdeley, Richard de, 95.
Yerdley, Adam de, 95.
Yerdley, Alice, 95.
Yevewith, Wood of, 119.
York, 67, 68, 81, 208, 209, 211.
York, Anlaff's stronghold at, demolished, 73.
York, Ancient state of castle.
York, Archbishop of, 21.
York, Abp. of, holds Knaresborough, 213.
York, Abp., Warden of Knaresborough Forest, 215.

York, Abp., interdicts processions to Lancaster's shrine, 231.
York, Bishopric founded, 77.
York, Archbishopric, 78.
York, Bridge of, 82.
York, Castle mills for cloth making, 264.
York, Duke of, 248.
York an early wool emporium, 263.
York, Edward IV. at, 250.
York, glimpse of the city in 1300, 80.
York, Jews in the city, 80.
York, Hanging through official perjury, 189.
York, Rebels in Somerset's rebellion executed, 250.
York, Richard Duke of, 253.
York, Sheriff of, 22, 222.
York, St. Mary's Abbey, 235.
Ypres a cloth mart, 266.

Zouche, Alan la, 179.

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